THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLII *January 1958* NUMBER 1

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLII *January 1958* NUMBER 1

CENTRAL PARK WEST AND 77TH STREET

NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

The New-York Historical Society Quarterly is published in January, April, July and October by The New-York Historical Society at 170 Central Park West, New York 24, N.Y. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements made by contributors. Yearly subscriptions are $3.00; individual copies, 75 cents. Entered at the New York Post Office as second-class matter.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D., *Honorary President*

LEROY E. KIMBALL, LL.D., *President*

IRVING S. OLDS . . . . . *First Vice-President*
LOUIS C. WILLS . . . . . *Second Vice-President*
FORSYTH WICKES . . . . . *Third Vice-President*
FREDERICK B. ADAMS, JR. . . . . *Fourth Vice-President*
HENRY O. HAVEMEYER . . . . . *Foreign Corresponding Secretary*
WILLIAM T. VAN ALSTYNE . . . . . *Domestic Corresponding Secretary*
LEWIS GOUVERNEUR MORRIS . . . . . *Recording Secretary*
THOMAS W. STREETER . . . . . *Treasurer*

Term Ending 1959
Charles E. Dunlap
C. Otto v. Kienbusch
Lucius Wilmerding

Term Ending 1960
John V. Irwin
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
Edmund Astley Prentis

Term Ending 1961
Fenwick Beekman, M.D.
Hall Park McCullough
Edgar Franklin Romig, D.D.

Term Ending 1962
R. McAllister Lloyd
John E. Parsons
Rodney W. Williams

COMMITTEES

On Building
Fenwick Beekman, M.D.
Charles E. Dunlap
Edmund Astley Prentis

On Law
Louis C. Wills
Forsyth Wickes
Irving S. Olds
William T. Van Alstyne

On Library
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.
Thomas W. Streeter
R. McAllister Lloyd
C. Otto v. Kienbusch

On Lectures
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.
Lewis Gouverneur Morris
John V. Irwin
Edgar Franklin Romig, D.D.

On Membership
John V. Irwin
William T. Van Alstyne
R. McAllister Lloyd

On Nominations
R. McAllister Lloyd
Charles E. Dunlap
John E. Parsons

On Fine Arts
Forsyth Wickes
Henry O. Havemeyer
Hall Park McCullough
Charles E. Dunlap

On Museum
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
Lewis Gouverneur Morris
John E. Parsons
C. Otto v. Kienbusch

On Finance
Thomas W. Streeter
Fenwick Beekman, M.D.
William T. Van Alstyne
Forsyth Wickes
Rodney W. Williams

On Publications
John E. Parsons
Thomas W. Streeter
Irving S. Olds
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.

Plan and Scope
The officers of the Society

Ex-Officio, All Committees
Dr. Kimball (President)
Dr. Streeter (Treasurer)
Dr. Vail (Secretary to the Board)

DIRECTOR . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL

DEPARTMENT HEADS

Assistant Director and Librarian . . . . . JAMES J. HESLIN
Curator of the Museum . . . . . RICHARD J. KOKE
Editor . . . . . CHARLES E. BAKER
Supervisor of Education . . . . . FRANCIS W. BILODEAU
Supervisor of Public Relations . . . . . SUSAN D. MCMAHON
Superintendent of Buildings . . . . . GARRETT H. WINTER

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLII JANUARY 1958 NUMBER 1

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*
THERESA A. CZAJKOWSKA, *Assistant Editor*

CONTENTS

The Marquis de Lafayette . . . . . GRAYSON KIRK 5
Pelham Bay: A Forgotten Battle . . . . GEORGE A. BILLIAS 21
Our Friendly Enemies . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL 39
Rushing the Transatlantic News . . . . . T. H. GIDDINGS 47
George Caleb Bingham . . . . JAMES FRANCIS MCDERMOTT 60
Pioneer Women's-Rights Magazine . . . . LOUIS H. FOX 71
"10 Miles from N. York" . . . . . RICHARD J. KOKE 75
Bicentennial of Lafayette's Birth . . . SUSAN D. MCMAHON 81
Dr. Thomas W. Streeter Receives the Gold Medal
for Distinguished Service . . . . . LEROY E. KIMBALL 85
Book Reviews and Notices:
Ellis, et al., *A Short History of New York State* . O. T. BARCK 88
White, *The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce*
White, ed., *The Beekman Mercantile Papers* . JOE E. FRANTZ 89
Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton . . . 1755–1788* . HAROLD LARSON 91
Uhlendorf, ed., *Revolution in America* . WILLIAM M. DABNEY 93
Roche, *Joseph Reed* . . . . . RICHARD J. KOKE 94
Scheer and Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* . . RICHARD J. KOKE 96
Craven, *Legend of the Founding Fathers* . . W. J. BELL, JR. 97
Yates, *William T. Porter and the Spirit of the Times*
C. OTTO V. KIENBUSCH 98
Patterson, *The Poet of Christmas Eve* . . . R. W. G. VAIL 100
Miers, ed., *When the World Ended: Diary of Emma LeConte*
Younger, ed., *Inside the Confederate Government*
JAMES J. HESLIN 101
Erickson, . . . *Industry and . . . Immigration* . . V. P. CAROSSO 103
Maisel, *They All Chose America* . . . . STEPHEN P. MIZWA 104
Thorne, *Samuel Gompers* . . . . . JAMES O. MORRIS 105
Little, *Rockefeller Folk Art Collection* . . . CAROLYN SCOON 106
MacCracken, *Old Dutchess Forever!* . . RICHARD J. KOKE 107
Maas, *The Gingerbread Age* . . . . . BETTY J. EZEQUELLE 108
Browne, *The Parish of St. Michael 1857–1957*
Willging, *Catholic Art Annual* . . THERESA A. CZAJKOWSKA 108
Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage* . . . RICHARD J. KOKE 109
Matteson, et al., *Index to the Writings on American History* . . 110

LAFAYETTE AS COMMANDANT GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL GUARD

Aquatint in colors, by and after P.L. DeBucourt, Paris, c. 1795

The New-York Historical Society

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

January 1958

VOLUME XLII NUMBER ONE

New York: 170 *Central Park West*

THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE*

by GRAYSON KIRK

President of Columbia University

TO SPEAK on any historical subject to an audience such as this is at best a hazardous privilege. The hazards are doubled when the speaker makes no pretensions to expertise on a subject which has evoked an immense and multi-lingual bibliography over the past century and a half. Even so, the privilege is not one to be declined when the occasion is an anniversary of the birth of one of the legendary heroes of our early national history. Such an occasion is a time for grateful and affectionate remembrance, and even a speaker who is not an expert may welcome the opportunity to share in a ceremony such as the one that brings us together tonight.

Two hundred years ago last month, there was born at the

* An address delivered at The New-York Historical Society, October 30, 1957, in conjunction with the special exhibition: "Lafayette and The New-York Historical Society." For an account of the ceremonies of which this address was the principal feature, see p. 81 herein.

château of Chavaniac in the Auvergne a child who was baptised as Marie-Joseph-Paul-Yves-Roch-Gilbert du Motier, marquis de Lafayette. Seventy-seven years later, on May 20, 1834, he died in Paris, a figure honored throughout the world wherever there were men who shared his passion for liberty. Between these two dates of birth and death there was lived out a life of high adventure and of passionate devotion to great causes, a life which ranged from the dizzying peaks of national idolatry in two countries to the dismal obscurity of a prison cell, a life that knew the glittering luxury of the *ancien régime* and the hardships of Valley Forge. When Lafayette's body was borne by a vast military escort to the cemetery of Picpus, to preclude the possibility of popular demonstrations against an unpopular government, his place in history was already secure.

The events of these three score and seventeen busy years are too well-known to require recounting in detail on an occasion such as this. However, to assess what Lafayette means to us of the twentieth century, we must look back at the salient events and activities which historians and biographers record.

One is impressed first of all by Lafayette's precocity. Perhaps it was not unusual by the standards of the time, but it is not common in our day for young men to be married at the age of sixteen or to be appointed, as he was, a Major General in an army—in this case, the American—at the age of nineteen. At the age of twenty-four he was back in France, the great American adventure behind him, and with a royal appointment as *Maréchal de Camp* awaiting him.

After his homecoming, there was to be little peace or quiet for the young man whose start in life had been so brilliant. It was his destiny to have been born at an eventful time in the history of his own country as well as that of the New World and he could not evade active participation in the whirlwind of events that swept over France at the end of the decade. When the Assembly of Notables was called together in 1787, it was Lafayette who spoke out most forcefully of all, demanding an investigation that would

put an end to the waste of government moneys. It was Lafayette who reminded the government that "the millions that are being dissipated are raised by taxation, and that taxes can only be justified by the true needs of the State; . . . the millions given over to depredation or cupidity are the price of the sweat, the tears and even the blood of the people. . . ." I wonder if Sir Winston Churchill ever read that quotation.

Thereafter Lafayette's lot was cast, of necessity, with the people and not the court. As he wrote Washington, "The king and his family, as well as the great nobles of his entourage, with the exception of a few friends, do not forgive the liberties that I have taken and the success that I have attained among the other classes of the nation." Following his adhesion to a petition of protest from 300 gentlemen of Brittany (where Lafayette had property), he felt the weight of the King's displeasure and his appointment as *Maréchal de Camp* was withdrawn.

Lafayette had audaciously demanded the convocation of the States General two years earlier. When they met in 1789, his position was awkward, for, though his sentiments were with the Third Estate, his seat was among the nobility. When the States General coalesced to form the National Assembly, he could act with greater freedom, and it is noteworthy that one of his first significant acts was to propose a text for a European Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens. The final text adopted later by the Constituent Assembly was couched in terms almost identical to those he had proposed.

But his principal role in the developing revolution was not as a political philosopher but as a leader. Chosen as Commander of the Parisian Militia by popular acclaim, he struggled vainly to hold in check the mounting violence of a populace too long subjected to the harassment of irresponsible authority. When the Militia became the National Guard his responsibility widened, and his position was soon threatened by a major reverse. The royal family disregarded the obligation accepted by the King to support a constitutional monarchy and fled from

Paris. Their arrest and safe return to the capital on Lafayette's orders prevented a crisis.

The Constituent Assembly ended its work in September, 1791; in early October Lafayette seized the opportunity to resign his post and to return to Chavaniac for a much-needed rest. But the change was too great to be genuinely satisfying in a time of such national crisis, and at the end of December he was back in Paris, named by the King as supreme commander of one of the three armies to protect the borders of France. By January 1792 he was at his post in Metz.

From the beginning, this military assignment was impossible because the political situation in Paris was disintegrating. Unlike many similar situations in history, the army did not gain the upper hand as civil authority declined. This time the military forces became pawns in the struggle for authority in the National Assembly. When the powers of the King were suspended by the Assembly in August, and when Lafayette openly opposed and resisted this step, he exposed himself to the mounting fury of the Jacobins.

Formally condemned by the Assembly, not only his liberty but his life hung in the balance, and he had to face the difficult alternatives of flight from France or the probability of the guillotine. Let it not be said that his choice of the former was an act of cowardice. Such a sentiment was foreign to his nature. He made the choice simply because the sacrifice of his life would be useless to the cause. As he wrote to his wife, " . . . j'allais mourir sans fruit."

So he fled across the frontier and gave himself up to the enemy. In doing this, he hoped, vainly, that he could fall back on his American citizenship, obtain safe conduct, and be permitted to go to a neutral country. But he was too prominent, too much under suspicion by the other rulers of Europe as an architect of revolution. It is indeed the irony of history that this man who had been compelled to flee from France because he defended the principle of royalty was now thrown into prison because of his alleged anti-royalist activities.

There followed five weary years of confinement. George Washington did what he could, but he was handicapped because he was now head of state and could not jeopardize foreign relations over a situation that was partly personal. The coalition powers replied to all overtures that Lafayette was not without responsibility for what had happened to Louis XVI; therefore, he must be imprisoned until the French monarch had regained his throne and could himself judge the conduct of his former general.

But when the Revolution had run its course and when it had claimed the lives of the royal family, this hope had to be given up and there was no longer any justification for further detention. Thus, in September 1797, Lafayette and his family—his wife and two daughters had been permitted to join him during the latter part of his imprisonment—were finally released. There followed two years of further waiting in the Low Countries until the political climate of Paris could be judged sufficiently favorable, and it was not until November 1799 that he once again saw the spires of Notre Dame looming above the gray buildings of the Ile de la Cité.

Napoleon was now First Consul and he was far from happy over the unauthorized return of Lafayette. But he was quickly reassured that the General had no intention of resuming a public career. In fact, Lafayette proposed to live in retirement at La Grange which his wife had inherited. Their other estates had long since been confiscated. He retired formally from the army, received his pension and avoided public appearances whenever possible. Nonetheless, he did not conceal his growing concern over the tendency of the First Consul to concentrate more and more power in his own hands. When Napoleon taxed him with this lack of loyalty, he replied with devastating and characteristic frankness:

> What more can I do? I live in the country, I am in retirement, I avoid occasions for speaking out: but every time that anyone comes to ask me if your regime is in conformity with my ideas of liberty, I will reply, "no," for in fact, general, I do want to be prudent, but I do not want to be a renegade.

Naturally, when Napoleon became Consul for life, the breach between the two men became definitive. Thus it was from the calm security of La Grange, interspersed with occasional visits to Paris, that Lafayette watched the unrolling of the Napoleonic drama. With the *reprise* of the Hundred Days he was again briefly in politics as a Deputy elected to the Chamber from the Seine-et-Marne. But he was no turncoat from his principles and he protested immediately against the form of the oath which the Deputies were required to take. Napoleon irritably remarked, "There is Lafayette who has already declared war on me."

After Waterloo, Lafayette had a considerable role in forcing the abdication of Napoleon; he had a brief and unsuccessful task as a member of a commission to undertake tentative negotiations with the victorious rulers; and when his final hopes were crushed by the Restoration, he took once more the road to La Grange. A year passed, and another, and Lafayette was back again in the Chamber of Deputies leading the liberal opposition, demanding freedom of the press, voting as he had done thirty years before against the *lettres de cachet*. Now, however, he moved into the domain of actual conspiracy as he flirted with the revolutionary schemes of French Carbonari groups and speedily found himself in an atmosphere uncongenial to one who had spent so much of his life in open, rather than clandestine, struggles against the enemies of liberty.

Inevitably, the fickleness of public opinion had its day and he lost his seat in the election of 1824. He was free to accept President Monroe's invitation to be the guest of our nation. During the Revolution he had fondly hoped to enter New York and to liberate that Tory stronghold from British domination, but the closest he came was on a reconnaissance mission the other side of the Hudson. When he first entered the city in August 1784 on his way to visit his beloved friend, Washington, he surprised our city fathers who had not been told in advance of his coming. However, they were not to be unprepared for his final visits. In fact, it may well be that his 1824 reception in New York

LAFAYETTE LANDING AT CASTLE GARDEN, AUGUST 16, 1824

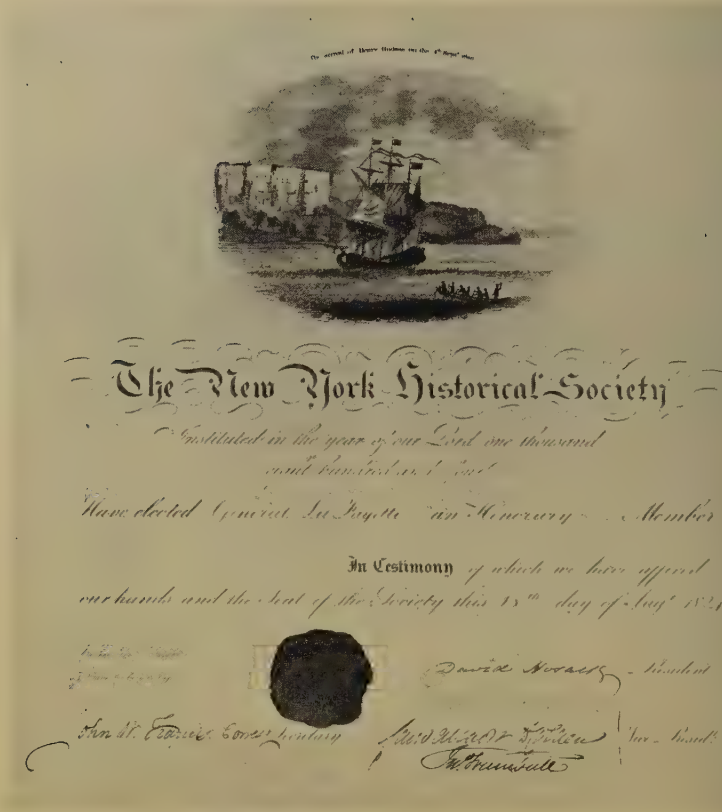
From *A Complete History of . . . Lafayette . . .* (N.Y.: 1826), p. 333

The New-York Historical Society

inaugurated the lavish welcomes for state guests which have become such an important part of the City's social activities. At any rate, the *Commercial Advertiser* for August 16, 1824, records that his reception "presented the most lively and *moving* spectacle that we have witnessed on any former occasion." He was hailed from boats and from the shore as the ship which carried him drew into the harbor, and his route through the city was covered not, of course, by the now conventional ticker-tape, but by fresh flowers thrown from windows by an admiring citizenry.

Wildly acclaimed, almost as a legendary figure returned to life, he spent a year visiting throughout the whole extent of the Union, renewing old friendships, making speeches and enduring endless banquets.

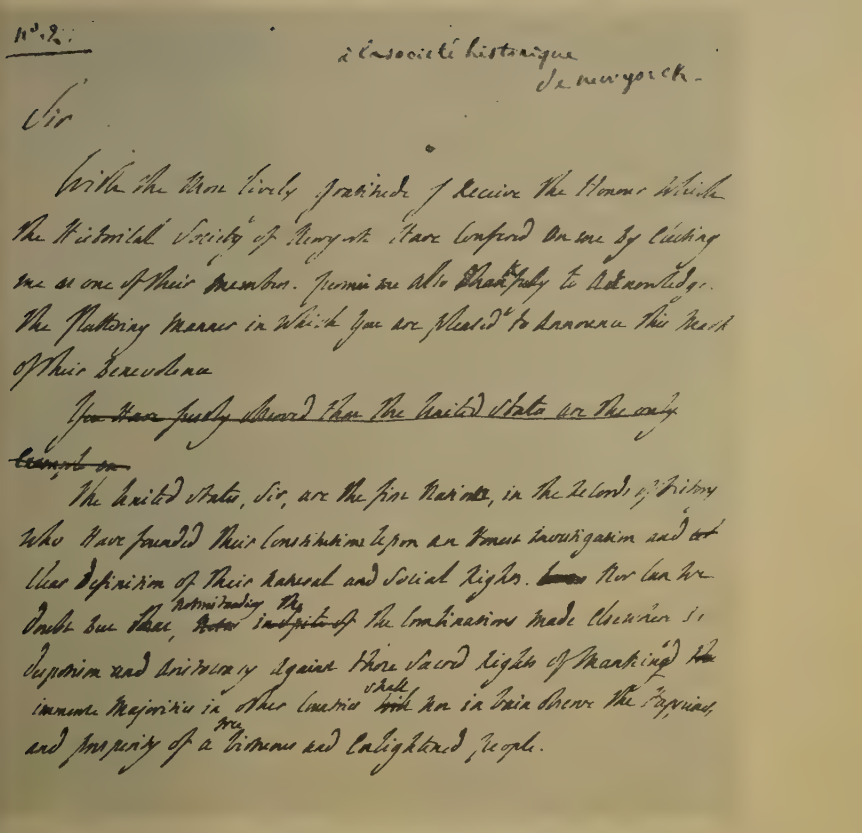
It was on the occasion of this triumphal tour that Lafayette and his son were made honorary members of this, then twenty-year-old, Society, and he visited the university over which I



LAFAYETTE'S CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP, AUGUST 18, 1824
Owned by his great-great-grandson, René Comte de Chambrun
On loan for exhibit at The New-York Historical Society

preside. (However, according to the account by his secretary, it would seem that among the schools he visited in New York, it was not Columbia, but a free school for young Africans, administered by the society for the freeing of the blacks, that inspired his most lively interest.)

So brilliant was the success of the long tour that it could have been marred only by fatigue and by the fact that Washington



LAFAYETTE'S DRAFT OF HIS MEMBERSHIP ACCEPTANCE SPEECH
Owned by his great-great-grandson, René Comte de Chambrun
On loan for exhibit at The New-York Historical Society

was no longer at Mount Vernon to greet him. But even fatigue must have escaped him, for one of his friends who hastened to see him on his return found him "big, plump, fresh, joyful. . . ."

Once more he was sent back to the Chamber. Once more he mounted the tribune demanding ever more freedom for the people of France. When the barricades again were raised in 1830, it was Lafayette who became commander of the National

Guard and *de facto* the master of the situation. So great was his influence that, without his support, it is doubtful if the Duke of Orleans would ever have been asked to assume the throne. Lafayette, however, was always unhesitating in his preference for a constitutional monarchy as against a republic for France, and, as always, the King feared his power. At the end of the year his forces were placed under the Ministry of the Interior, effectively suppressing his post as Commander, and he retired once again to La Grange.

But within the year the wheel had turned full circle and he found himself pitted against the government over the proposal to create hereditary peerages, over the refusal of French officialdom to give aid and succor to the battling Poles and the Italians. And so, struggling on with his endless crusade, he lived to the full the three years that remained of his life. When the last of his days came, he must have been pleased to remember that virtually his final letter was written to Glasgow to the president of the society for the emancipation of negro slaves, a letter in which he sent his warm congratulations for progress achieved. Liberty, as he saw it, had no color line and no national boundaries.

This was a long, full and adventurous life, but many a man who lived in those turbulent decades had as much. Indeed, it would have been difficult for anyone to have had a prominent part in French public affairs from 1789 to 1830 without having had a life packed with adventure and uncertainty, particularly the uncertainty of survival. Why, then, did this man acquire such eminence in his own time, an eminence that has continued to grow in the century and a quarter since his death until today Americans venerate him as one of the heroic figures of an era that was filled with men of extraordinary capacities?

First, what kind of a man was he? To answer such a question about another man of another generation is never easy even for one who sets out to be a professional biographer. It is far less easy for a self-confessed amateur.

But there are facts that, though self-evident, tend to throw

LA GRANGE, LAFAYETTE'S CHÂTEAU, ON STAFFORDSHIRE PLATTER

From the collection of Dr. Arthur H. Merritt

On loan for exhibit at The New-York Historical Society

some light upon the answers to the question which I have just posed. First of all, Lafayette was not a profound political theorist. He listened intently to others; he could write and speak persuasively; he was passionately interested in the swirling currents of political doctrine that swept about him; but he was not an original thinker. He was a man of action, the leader who sought to convince people of the wisdom of views he had absorbed from others. This judgment is made in no reproachful way; the times brought forth political theorists of great profundity on both sides of the Atlantic. We are fortunate that Lafayette did seek a life of activity rather than one of reflection.

Although he spent a great part of his mature life in politics, his biographers seem to agree that he had no great talent for the

political maneuvering that is the daily activity of the professional politician. Guizot said that he often failed to foresee the probable results of his actions. Napoleon, scarcely an objective reporter, observed that because of Lafayette's political credulity he was constantly being duped by men and events.

In appraising these and many other comments of like nature, let us remember that our French friends have terrifyingly high standards of judgment concerning skill at political manipulation. An expert in many another country would have been judged a mere tyro in the France of Lafayette's day quite as much as he would be in the France of the Fourth Republic. Even so, we may accept the fact that Lafayette did not have the attitude of the professional political manipulator. Whether this was due to his own tastes or to a shrewd sense of his own limitations, I do not know. But it is true, I believe, that he generally maintained an aloofness and a detachment concerning maneuvering even when he was fully engaged in it. At all times he was the gentleman in politics, not the professional politician, and this may explain some of those barbed criticisms of his contemporaries that have affected his continuing fame in his own native land.

Perhaps the greatest reason why he may not have been a skilled manipulator is the fact that Lafayette was an uncompromising man of principle. When expediency and principles clashed, expediency always lost the match. His code was so rigid that he preferred, for example, to stay on in his fetid prison rather than to accept what he regarded as unworthy conditions set by the Austrian Emperor for his release.

His detractors have often referred slurringly to his unquenchable thirst for popularity. Even Jefferson, who liked him, noted this tendency, and he himself confessed it. But while it is undeniable that Lafayette did enjoy the sunlight of approval and encouraged it to shine upon him, this could not have been the all-absorbing passion that his enemies declared it to be. Had such been the case, he would never have been willing—as he so frequently was—to jeopardize or sacrifice all his popularity for the

sake of fidelity to principle. This being true, one suspects that he cultivated popularity because it was necessary in a representative form of government to the achievement of the ends he sought, and not merely as a means of gratifying his vanity.

There is no better demonstration of his passionate devotion to principle, even at the expense of popularity, than his long battle for a constitutional monarchy in France. Because of this he lost the support of both Right and Left during the Revolution. Because of this he broke with Napoleon. Because of this he struggled first to liberalize the Restoration and then to overthrow it. Because of this, he turned implacably against the Orleanist monarchy he had helped to create. Much as he admired democracy in America, he was convinced that a constitutional monarchy was better for France and he worked single-mindedly—and vainly—for more than forty years to achieve it.

Perhaps this was due to mature reflection. Perhaps it could be explained by the fact that Lafayette was a gentleman of the old regime, but one with democratic convictions, one who could reconcile these conflicts in his own views and attitudes only by supporting a constitutional monarchy on the emerging English pattern. He wrote once to his wife that "my heart would have been republican if my mind had not given me this nuance of royalism, and if my fidelity to my oaths and to the national will had not made me a defender of the constitutional rights of the King." All that this means is that he was a liberal aristocrat who, better than many of his contemporaries and perhaps because of his American experiences, had found a workable solution to the dilemma of authority and tradition versus liberty.

This, however, was the only concession he would make. And he would make this only if the monarchy would be so genuinely constitutional that it would pose no threat to liberty. This last word embodies the goal of his life. He may have gone to America as a lad of nineteen in search of glory quite as much as out of conviction about the cause of the Colonists. He may have gone in part to avenge the father he had never known because his

father had been killed by an English musket ball. But one thing is certain, and that is that he came back from America with a life-long dedication to the cause of human freedom.

So great was his passion, so enduring was it, that he strove to get aid for the Greeks in their struggle for independence, for the Poles in their efforts to rebind together the shattered fragments of their nation, for Bolivar and all the other South American patriots who fought to cast aside their Spanish political ties. Wherever men strove for liberty, there was his heart. His zeal at times led him to support dubious men and causes, but who is to say that it is better to be so cautious as to temporize on all issues than to believe so passionately in an ideal that one is willing to risk much for it?

But these comments have not yet answered the query concerning the reason for Lafayette's legendary and lasting popularity. It is altogether likely that the American Revolution would have followed the same course and with the same results even if Lafayette had never left France to help us. It is equally likely that the political history of France would not have been profoundly different without him. What, then, is his importance?

The answer is disarmingly simple. It is Lafayette, the symbol, even more than Lafayette, the military leader, or Lafayette, the political leader, whose image is in the hearts of men even today.

First, Lafayette is a symbol of the romantic ideal. Here is a youth born to the nobility who forsakes his wife and family, risks his status in life, to sail away and befriend an alien people in a war against tyranny and oppression. This is almost an archetype of the brave knight *sans peur et sans reproche* who goes questing about the world seeking evil that he may destroy it. Here is the stuff of Arthurian legend brought to life. Some of our lads may be confused about the precise identities of Lafayette, Sir Galahad, or even Wyatt Earp, but the principle as symbol is the same and it lies deep at the heart of the American credo.

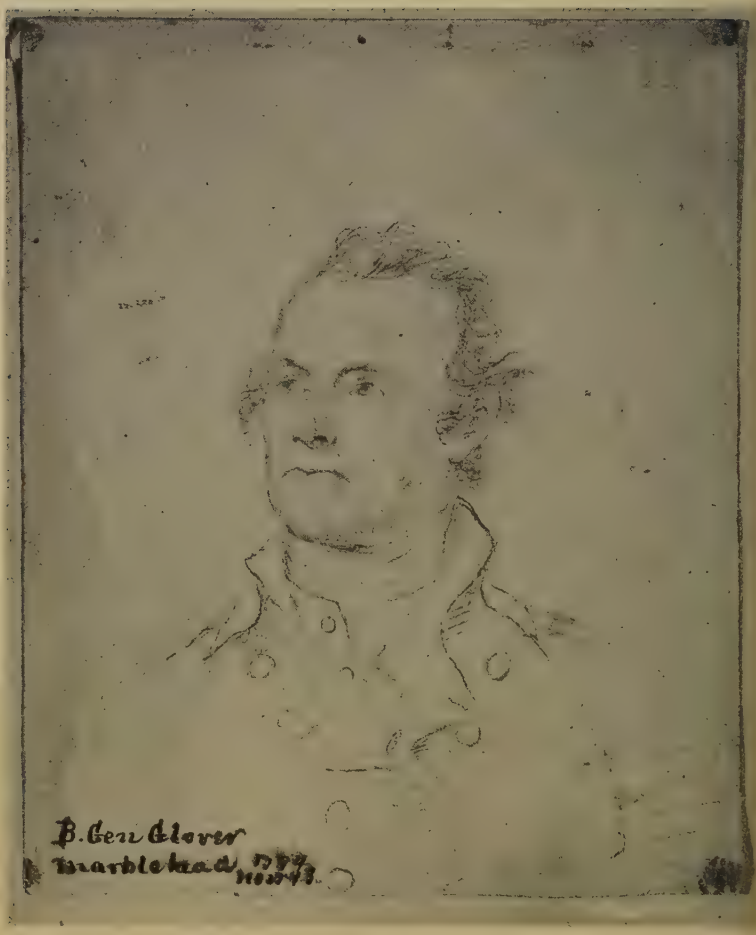
To Americans, Lafayette also stands as a symbol of the Rightness of our action against the British Crown. By his decision to

help us, he reinforced our own moral justification for revolt. By his failure to bring ordered, democratic liberty to his own country, he symbolized the struggle between the corrupt Old World and the shining New World. In this sense he becomes not only a symbol of chivalry, but a symbol of national righteousness.

Finally, and historically most important of all, Lafayette has come to be the master symbol of French and American friendship. Because of Lafayette, generations of Americans have disregarded the simple fact that a decaying French monarchy came to our aid not because of our principles, which were abhorrent to it, and not *pour nos beaux yeux*, but because it was a Heaven-sent opportunity to give the British a black eye. The powerful evocation of the Lafayette symbol is borne out by the more than half a hundred towns, counties, villages and parks, not to mention the innumerable streets, avenues and squares, that bear his name.

In our national existence we have fought in bloody warfare with the British, the Germans, the Italians, the Spanish, the Japanese and the Chinese. To put the matter another way, we have fought with all the major powers of the world except the Russians and the French, and our relations with the Russians could scarcely be described as friendly. Save for a squabble with the French at the end of the eighteenth century, we have enjoyed virtually unbroken friendship through all the vicissitudes of more than a century and a half. Is it too much to say that the Lafayette symbol of good-will and affection between our peoples has been an important factor in bringing this state of affairs about?

Here is a symbol that has become a reality. It is a reality cherished by two peoples of different cultures. Our hearts both in America and in France are lifted by it, not merely because we know it is valuable to both our countries, but because in it we rise above the calculations of statecraft, in it we glimpse for a moment the vision of the future when all peoples will feel about each other as our two peoples do. It is a vision which Lafayette would have found profoundly satisfying.



BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN GLOVER (1732–1797)

Sketch by John Trumbull, 1794 (Photo by FARL)

Owned by Mr. Hall Park McCullough

PELHAM BAY: A FORGOTTEN BATTLE

by George A. Billias[1]

Department of History and Government, University of Maine

THE CLASH between patriot and British forces at Pelham Bay, New York, in October 1776, deserves to be ranked among the more decisive battles of the Revolutionary War. Judged by the criteria normally employed by historians to evaluate the importance of a military engagement—be it strategic results, number of combatants involved or casualties suffered—the encounter was a significant one. Paradoxically, this action is rarely given the attention it merits, more often being disregarded completely or at best given a few scant paragraphs in the more comprehensive military works.[2] Indeed, one authority quite justly characterized Pelham Bay as "a battle which might without flippancy be described as lost, strayed or stolen from the pages of history."[3]

One need not seek far for the causes behind this neglect. Colonel John Glover, the American commander on the scene, is himself one of the forgotten heroes of the war. This short, stocky Marbleheader has been almost overlooked as one of the minor but able military leaders of the Revolution, and aside from the important role he played in two brilliant amphibious operations, Long Island and Trenton, he is virtually unknown. The best account of the battle was contained in a letter written by the Colonel four days after the fight, but the tendency on the part of historians to

[1] For financial assistance while preparing this article, the writer is indebted to the Coe Research Fund at the University of Maine.

[2] The following works are exceptions to the rule and deal with the battle at some length: William Abbatt, *The Battle of Pelham* (New York: 1901); Henry B. Dawson, *Westchester County During the Revolution* (New York: 1886), 233-246; Otto Hufeland, *Westchester County During the American Revolution, 1775-1783* (New York: 1926), 107-130. Of the more recent military historians only Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (New York: 1952), I, 256-258, and Lynn Montross, *Rag, Tag, and Bobtail* (New York: 1952), 149-153, have given any more than cursory attention to the fight.

[3] Montross, *op. cit.*, 149.

disregard Glover has caused them to overlook this primary source.[4] In short, the man's obscurity has served to dim the luster of the event.[5]

Still another reason why this engagement has been dismissed rather lightly is that the losses inflicted upon the enemy have never been established with any degree of certainty. Therefore, for those who weigh the importance of battles by drawing up neat profit and loss statements of casualties between friend and foe, Pelham Bay has held little interest. Strangely enough, first-hand accounts by participants and eyewitnesses which indicate that the hostile forces suffered a severe toll have not been taken very seriously.

The true significance of this battle, however, lies in the fact that it saved the American army from encirclement and complete destruction. Military historians would do better to evaluate the action in terms of its effect on the patriot cause than merely in terms of comparative casualty lists.

Following a series of sharp but inconclusive encounters at Harlem Heights in mid-September, the British and American armies had settled down behind their respective fortified positions on the northern part of Manhattan Island. For nearly a month General Howe made no effort to assault the American lines because they looked too formidable to be carried by a frontal attack. When Howe did make his move in mid-October, he struck hard and fast and demonstrated his well-known fondness for the flanking movement.

Leaving behind a holding force under Lord Percy to man the Manhattan lines, Howe pulled out with a sizeable body on a large-scale amphibious operation. British transports sailed in a wide sweep to the northeast by way of Hell Gate and the East River up into Long Island Sound, as he maneuvered to outflank Washing-

[4] Extract of a Letter from Colonel Glover, dated Miles Square, Oct. 22, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, II, 1188; hereinafter cited as *Glover Letter*, Oct. 22, 1776.

[5] For Glover's earlier life see, "Of Ships, Shoes and Sealing Wax: The Early Career of John Glover," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, October 1956, and "Pox and Politics in Marblehead," *ibid.*, January 1956, both by George A. Billias.

ton's army. Landing at Throg's (or "Frog's") Neck (or Point) behind the American lines on October 12th Howe reported:

> [I was] determined . . . to get upon their principal communication with *Connecticut*, with a view of forcing them to quit the strong holds in the neighbourhood of King's Bridge, and, if possible to bring them to action.[6]

Connecticut was Washington's granary; King's Bridge, the major link spanning the Harlem River between Manhattan and the mainland, was the logical escape route from Harlem Heights. If Howe could turn the key position at King's Bridge, he would not only pry the Americans loose from Manhattan, but he might also force Washington into a major engagement in the course of the retreat. If there was one thing the American general wished desperately to avoid at this time, it was a pitched battle.[7]

Despite the fact the enemy had landed to his rear, Washington did not order a wholesale retreat. The terrain at Howe's landing place favored the Americans, not the British. "Frog's Point," Washington reported, was not really part of the mainland, but rather "a kind of Island, but the Water that surrounds it is fordable at low tide."[8] Nature would cooperate to bottle up the British at flood tide, and at low tide the narrow approaches to the mainland could be strongly guarded by the Americans. Moreover, noted Washington:

> The grounds [leading] from Frogs point [to Kings Bridge] are strong and defensible, being full of Stone fences, both along the road and across the adjacent Fields, which will render it difficult for Artillery, or . . . [for a] large body of foot to advance in any regular order except through the main road.[9]

[6] General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, Nov. 30, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, III, 922.

[7] Washington wrote to the President of Congress on September 8, 1776, "That we should on all Occasions avoid a general Action, or put anything to the Risque, unless compelled by a necessity, into which we ought never to be drawn." John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, VI, 28; hereinafter referred to as *Washington's Writings*.

[8] General Washington to the President of Congress, Oct. 13, 1776, *Washington's Writings*, VI, 197.

[9] *Loc. cit.* The portions in brackets were alterations made by Washington's aide, Lieut. Col. Robert H. Harrison.

TAPP
Tarrytown
Hammam
Young
Taylor
Davis
School H
Qr Mr.
Harrisons
Purchase
WHITE
PLAINS
Ward
Christ M
Chatterton
Hatfield
Lyons
Appleby
Dobbs
Post Road to Albany
Sawmill
Post Brig.
Road to the White Plains
Heady
Mamaroneck R
Sarsdale
Hunt
Burling
Smith
Ward
Mamaroneck
Col Rogers
Brigades
Suttons Pt
Hutchesons R
Heights of Fordham
Heights of Rochelle
March of the British Army to the White Plains
Pells
Rochelle
Stamford
Oct 18
Chester
PELHAM'S MANOR
Myers Pt
Hessian Camp
Oct 21
Knyphausen
Oct 22
Glovers Pt
Pelhams Br
Dykemans Br
Sunken Obstructions
Fort Washington
De Lancey
Bruce's Br
Chester
Marrs
Frogs Pt
NEW YORK
NORTH RIVER
A PLAN of the COUNT
from FROGS POINT to HOTON RIVE
shewing the Positions of the Amer
and British Armies from the
October 1776 until the ENGAGEM
on the WHITE PLAINS
SCALE.

Indeed, the American commander confided to one of his correspondents that, "from the Situation of the Grounds, thro' which they must Pass, if they pursue their Plan, I would fain hope they will sustain considerable Loss, if not a repulse."[10]

Nor were these the only reasons why Washington remained where he was. A few days earlier, he had received a communication from Congress directing him to obstruct navigation on the Hudson from Fort Lee on the Jersey shore and Fort Washington on Manhattan. If the American army withdrew from the lines at Harlem Heights it would leave Fort Washington without any protection and expose that position to a siege by the British. Although several British vessels had already run past Fort Washington, the Commander-in-Chief remained hopeful that by keeping possession of that bastion and strengthening the defensive barriers in the river he could prevent any more enemy ships from penetrating further up the Hudson.[11]

While maintaining his lines on Harlem Heights, Washington did alter the disposition of his forces to meet the British threat.[12] He strengthened the troops along the lines of approach from Throg's Neck, sent a regiment far to the north to secure certain passes in the Highlands, and dispatched two regiments to keep close watch over three British warships that had sailed past Fort Washington and were anchored off Tarrytown.[13]

[10] General Washington to Nicholas Cooke, Oct. 12, 1776, and postscript Oct. 13, *Washington's Writings*, VI, 202.

[11] Tench Tilghman to William Dyer, Oct. 31, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, II, 1311.

[12] For a fine footnote demolishing Bancroft's statement that the main army retired from Manhattan on October 12th, see Dawson, *op. cit.*, 238.

[13] General Washington to Governor Jonathan Trumbull, Oct. 15, 1776, *Washington's Writings*, VI, 209–210.

The map on the opposite page is from the lower two-thirds of the map drawn by S. Lewis from original surveys and published in Henry B. Dawson's *Westchester-County, New York, during the American Revolution* (1886), opp. p. 238. The line of the American withdrawal to White Plains is incorrectly dated as beginning October 12th instead of the 18th. The path of the British advance from Pell's Point to the site of the Battle of Pelham Bay (here labeled "Skirmish Oct. 18") is indicated by dotted lines.

Nagging doubts about his decision to stay put induced Washington to call a council of war on October 16th to review his overall strategy. Maybe the general reconnaisance he had made over the ground around Throg's Neck caused him to revise his earlier estimate of the situation.[14] Or perhaps the possibility that the patriot army might be caught in a pincers movement helped to change his mind. A British amphibious force might sail up the Hudson as the three warships had done, land to his rear and then strike to the east, while at the same time Howe's force burst from its beachhead at Throg's Neck and moved to the west to link forces.[15] Certainly at the council, the information gleaned from deserters showing the enemy's intention to surround the army must have weighed heavily on the minds of all who were present.[16] After a heated discussion and debate in which General Charles Lee played an important role, it was agreed that a retreat was necessary.[17]

General orders were issued on October 17th to start the withdrawal and by the 18th the army got under way.[18] Stirling's brigade hurried northward to secure a new position on the high ground around White Plains. This brigade took four hours to make the march of about eighteen miles. The main body of the army took four days to cover the same distance![19] Teams and wagons were lacking to transport stores and baggage, and the retreat became a long-drawn-out affair. During those four crucial days, Howe's force to Washington's rear loomed like a dagger that threatened to cut up the American columns as they slowly crawled along in thin weak files.

"While we were making this grand movement into the country," reported one of the retreating soldiers, "the enemy were not

[14] Robert H. Harrison to the President of Congress, Oct. 14, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, II, 1034.

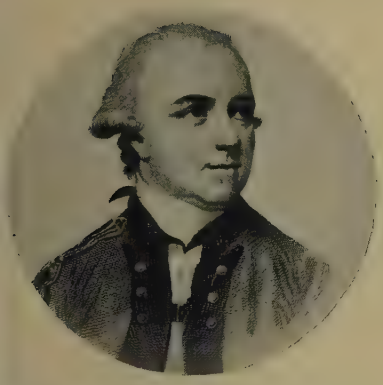
[15] Douglas S. Freeman, *George Washington*, 4 vols. (New York: 1951), IV, 218.

[16] Proceedings of a Council of General Officers, Oct. 16, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, II, 1118.

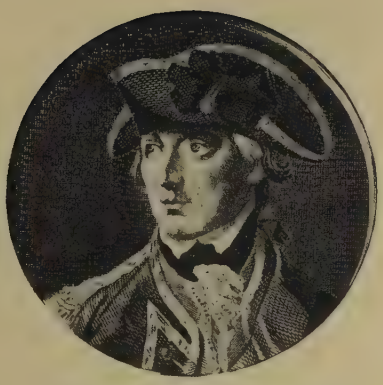
[17] *Ibid.*

[18] General Orders, Oct. 17 and 18, 1776, *Washington's Writings*, VI, 214–216.

[19] Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 257.



SIR HENRY CLINTON (*c.* 1738–1795)
Engraving by A. H. Ritchie
The New-York Historical Society



SIR WILLIAM HOWE (1729–1814)
Engraving by Dodd in Andrew's
History of the War with America (1785)

idle. . . ."[20] In the early morning hours of October 18th, the very day the patriot army was starting its trek to White Plains, Howe set out upon another amphibious operation. Several corps of British troops re-embarked from Throg's Neck to be ferried to Pell's Point, a peninsula three miles further north, located at the mouth of the Hutchinson's River.[21] Here, the terrain and other factors would not be as favorable to the Americans as at Throg's Neck. Pell's Point was actually part of the mainland, and there would be no bottleneck at the landing place to deter the attackers. Nor would there be a large force to stop Howe from knifing inland to strike at the straggling American columns.

Two experienced officers, Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, who had headed the amphibious assault at Kip's Bay a month earlier, led the landing force at Pelham Bay. Unfortunately, the size and composition of the enemy body has never been definitely ascertained. Four German regiments of Von Stirn's

[20] Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in the Army etc., Nov. 1, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, III, 472.

[21] General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, Nov. 30, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, III, 922. See also *Revolution in America* . . . , ed. by Bernhard A. Uhlendorf. This translation of Major Baurmeister's journals sheds additional light on the amphibious movement. Baurmeister's account of the action is inconsistent with those of Howe, Clinton, and Glover, and therefore has been disregarded.

brigade comprising some 3,000 men formed the largest part of the landing force. British troops probably consisted of the light infantry and grenadier companies of the Fourth and Sixteenth Foot, and elements of the Sixteenth Light Dragoons, who appear to have fought dismounted.[22] In his letter Glover estimated the total to be about 4,000 men,[23] a figure that military historians have concluded is not unreasonable.

The striking force embarked at two in the morning, but was unable to make for the shore until five.[24] Rowing under the cover of the semi-darkness that precedes the sunrise, the British achieved complete surprise and secured their beachhead with only minor difficulties.[25] When a frigate that was to provide them with covering fire ran aground, six cannon were brought up instead for artillery support.[26] Once ashore, Clinton sent Cornwallis off to the right with grenadiers, light infantry and chasseurs to cover the flank. The landing was unnoticed and unopposed and the enemy penetrated a mile and a half from the shore before being spotted.[27]

The only thing that stood in the path of Howe's invading force was John Glover with four skeleton regiments from Massachusetts. To shield his army from attack from the east, Washington had posted units at various locations along Long Island Sound where an enemy landing might be expected. In the absence of James Clinton, one of the brigadier generals, Colonel Glover had been given command of a brigade and on October 14th his unit took up a position near Eastchester to guard the road-net leading from Pell's Point to the American rear.[28]

[22] Howe wrote that "several corps" made the landing and identified several of the above units in his letter: General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, Nov. 30, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, III, 922. Clinton mentions other units in his narrative, William Willcox, ed., *American Rebellion; Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775–1782* (New Haven: 1954), 49–50, hereinafter cited as *American Rebellion*. Abbatt, *op. cit.*, 5, and Dawson, *op. cit.*, 244, identified still others.

[23] *Glover Letter*, Oct. 22, 1776.

[24] *American Rebellion*, 49–50.

[25] According to a contemporary almanac, the sunrise that day was at 6:32.

[26] *American Rebellion*, 50.

[27] *Glover Letter*, Oct. 22, 1776.

[28] General Orders, Sept. 4, 1776, in *Washington's Writings*, VI, 17; and Loammi Baldwin to Mary Baldwin, Oct. 20, 1776, in Houghton Library, Harvard University, hereinafter referred to as Baldwin Letter, Oct. 20, 1776.

Rising on the morning of the 18th, Glover had climbed a hill with his "glass" in hand to scan the horizon for some sign of the enemy.[29] What he saw must have made him gasp. There in front of him stretched Howe's amphibious force. "I . . . discovered a number of ships in the Sound under way," he reported, "[and] in a very short time saw the boats upwards of two hundred sail, all manned and formed in four grand divisions."[30] His first reaction was to alert General Lee, his immediate superior, of this formidable threat to the American rear and to request further orders. That such instructions never arrived is clearly evident from Glover's comment: "I would have given a thousand worlds to have had General Lee, or some other experienced officer present, to direct, or at least to approve of what I had done. . . ."[31]

To oppose the invaders, Glover had a brigade totalling 750 men and three field pieces. The odds against him were roughly five to one, but as it turned out he did not use his entire force. Glover's own regiment of about 180 men was placed in reserve and never committed to action. Nor was he able to use his artillery, because the rough terrain over which the action was fought compelled him to leave his guns well to the rear.[32]

There was no time to ponder over the fact that he was outnumbered and out-gunned. Turning out the brigade, Glover hurried down from his encampment located on the slope of a hill between what is now the old Boston Post Road and Columbus Avenue in Mount Vernon to check the British.[33] When he had gone hardly half the distance, Glover unexpectedly ran into thirty enemy skirmishers and the battle got under way. With admirable coolness, Glover sent out an advance patrol of forty men to delay the skirmishers while he deployed the rest of his brigade.[34]

[29] Hufeland has identified this hill as a point on what is known as McClellan Avenue, south of East Fifth Street in Mount Vernon. Hufeland, *op. cit.*, 122.
[30] *Glover Letter*, Oct. 22, 1776.
[31] *Glover Letter*, Oct. 22, 1776.
[32] *Loc. cit.*
[33] Hufeland, *op. cit.*, 122.
[34] *Glover Letter*, Oct. 22, 1776.

SPLIT ROCK ROAD IN PELHAM BAY PARK, BRONX, N.Y.
Photo by William L. Calver, Field Exploration Committee, 1922
The New-York Historical Society

No professional soldier could have done better, for the battle plan that Glover evolved proved simple but effective. Stationing three regiments of his small command at staggered intervals, he covered both sides of Split Rock Road that ran into the interior. The stone fences running along this lane and located in the adjacent fields would, of necessity, force the enemy to advance down the narrow roadway. Glover skillfully hid his men behind these ready-made fortifications to take advantage of the cover and concealment. To break out from their beachhead into the open country beyond, the Hessians and British would have to pass through a veritable funnel of musketry.

By protecting his units behind stone walls, the diminutive Marbleheader showed how keenly he understood his men. "Shelter them and they will fight forever," Israel Putnam had once said of American troops, and Bunker Hill was proof of Putnam's dictum. That battle still loomed large in the minds of Massachusetts men, and stone fences along Split Rock Road proved as comforting to Glover's soldiers as breastworks on Charlestown's hills had to Putnam's troops.

Nor did Glover demand the impossible of his regiments. Each

unit could anticipate some measure of relief during the battle. Glover instructed each regiment to hold the enemy in check as long as possible, and then to fall back to a new position in the rear while the next unit in reserve took up the brunt of the fighting. Since the first regiment to contact the invaders was on the left side of the road it was expected these troops would be able to retire unmolested because the next unit in reserve was located on the right and thus would distract the attention of the enemy away from the direction of the retreat.

Much of the fighting appears to have taken place around Split Rock, the landmark from which the road derived its name.[35] Colonel Joseph Read of the Thirteenth Continental with approximately 226 men was in the most advanced position on the left of the road and probably posted near Split Rock. Behind him on the opposite side of the road, perhaps close to the top of Prospect

[35] Hufeland's version of the location of the battle site is accepted here because his estimates of distance agree more closely with Glover's letter than do Abbatt's, and because Hufeland had use of more reliable maps. Hufeland, *op. cit.*, 122–124.

SPILT ROCK, ON SPLIT ROCK ROAD, PELHAM BAY PARK

Photo by William L. Calver, 1912

The New-York Historical Society

Hill, was Colonel William Shepard, grizzled veteran of the French and Indian War, with the Third Regiment of a little over 200 men. To the right and rear of Shepard was Colonel Loammi Baldwin, a curious combination of fighter and fruit-fancier who helped produce the apple that bears his name, with the Twenty-sixth Continental numbering about 234 men. Behind these three advance units, Glover held his own Fourteenth Regiment and three field pieces in reserve on the high ground behind Hutchinson's Creek.[36]

With his troops deployed, Glover rode out to his advanced party and ordered them to push forward. His forty-man force moved to within fifty yards of the hostile skirmishers before drawing any fire. The enemy aimed badly and their first volley failed to bring down a single American. Glover's men were more accurate and their first fire cut down four of the skirmishers. Clinging stubbornly to their advanced position, the Americans exchanged five hot rounds with the enemy. By that time, two Americans lay dead, several were wounded, and the invaders having received reinforcements had closed to within thirty yards. At this point, Glover gave the order to fall back.[37]

Scenting an easy victory, the enemy gave a shout and rushed in to follow up their advantage. When they were only thirty yards away, Colonel Read's two hundred who were crouched behind stone fences sprang up and delivered a withering fire at murderously close range. Faced with a sheet of flame, the attackers broke ranks and retreated out of reach of the American guns to await more reinforcements.

For the next hour and a half there was a lull in the fighting, while the British and Germans massed for an attack. Then on they came, hurling themselves at the American positions and firing their six cannon whose deep roar shook the early morning air.[38]

[36] *Glover Letter,* Oct. 22, 1776; and Hufeland, *op. cit.,* 123. The strength cited for each unit was taken from the army returns of Oct. 5, 1776, as listed in Dawson, *op. cit.,* 241.

[37] *Glover Letter,* Oct. 22, 1776.

[38] Glover says seven pieces of artillery, but Clinton claims there were only six. The British version has been accepted.

Kneeling tensely behind cover, Read's men waited until the enemy were within fifty yards and then rose up again to deliver "the whole charge." The attackers shuddered to a halt, then promptly "returned the fire with showers of musketry and cannon balls." From its forward position, Read's regiment exchanged seven rounds with the enemy. Glover then ordered a retreat, and the Thirteenth filed off still under the protection of stone walls until they were well past the point where Shepard's unit lay hidden on the opposite side of the road.[39]

Again the invaders made the fatal mistake of thinking they had smashed the American resistance. Cheering lustily, they charged forward to finish off the retreating regiment. But up leaped Shepard's men as if popping out of the earth and let loose a deadly hail of bullets that stopped the enemy in their tracks. The fiercest fighting of the day now took place. Posted behind a double stone wall, Shepard's men, firing by platoons, kept up a steady stream of hot lead. The Americans pumped a total of seventeen rounds into the hostile ranks, fought off repeated assaults, and made the enemy break ranks and retreat several times. In fact, on one occasion they went back so far that a souvenir-hunting Yankee was able to leap over the wall, take a hat and canteen from a wounded British officer lying on the ground, and scramble back to saftey unscathed.[40]

By this time the enemy had amassed too great a force to be denied any longer. Glover ordered Shepard and Read to retreat to the rear of Baldwin's fresh regiment that lay behind a stone fence. Once again the game of tactical leap frog was repeated, and the retreating units were covered as they fell back.[41]

This process might have been repeated endlessly except that the Americans found themselves assailed from a new quarter. Around noon, a large body of enemy troops were seen moving briskly on the flank and fast approaching the bridge across

[39] *Glover Letter*, Oct. 22, 1776.

[40] *Loc. cit.* The officer, Captain William Evelyn of the Fourth Regiment, was not dead as Glover reported, but he was mortally wounded and died later in New York City.

[41] Montross, *op. cit.*, 150.

Hutchinson's Creek over which the brigade had crossed earlier that morning.[42] No doubt this was Cornwallis's force which Clinton had detached to his right for flanking operations upon landing. Rather than risk the danger of being cut off, Glover decided to bring the engagement to a close.

The Americans may have been forced to retreat, but they were not routed. Indeed, the fighting that day gave them a new feeling of confidence, and their withdrawal was carried out, as Colonel Baldwin noted, "with the greatest reluctance Immaginable though with as much good order and Regularity as ever they marched off a Publick Parade."[43] Marching down Secor's Hill, crossing over Wolf's Lane to the Boston Post Road, and wading through Hutchinson's Creek since Glover had taken precautions to remove the bridge planking that morning, the three regiments moved up the hill to rejoin the Fourteenth Continental at the morning encampment.[44] The retreat was covered by the three American cannon, and Glover reported, "The enemy halted, and played their artillery at us, and we at them, till night, without any damage on our side, and but very little on theirs."[45]

When darkness fell, the exhausted men slipped off three miles in the direction of Dobb's Ferry to bivouac. Their well-earned rest was not easy, "after fighting all day without victuals or drink, laying as picket all night, the heavens over us and the earth under us, which," as Glover wrote, "was all we had having left our baggage at the old encampment we left in the morning."[46] But at least their repose was undisturbed, because Howe failed to pursue the retreating brigade.

No more eloquent testimony was paid to the ferocity with which Glover's men fought than the estimate made by the British commander, Sir Henry Clinton, that he had faced 14,000

[42] Although Glover's letter does not make it clear, other British and American sources agree that it was the flank attack that pried the Americans loose from their stone wall defenses; see Baldwin Letter, Oct. 20, 1776 and *American Rebellion*, 50.

[43] Baldwin Letter, Oct. 20, 1776.

[44] Hufeland, *op. cit.*, 123.

[45] *Glover Letter*, Oct. 22, 1776.

[46] *Loc. cit.*

Americans![47] Glover's entire force of 750 was scarcely one-twenieth of that number. If Glover's calculation of four thousand nemy troops is accurate, then a total of 4,750 men were involved n the battle. This figure is greater than the numbers engaged in uch better-known engagements as Trenton, Bennington, Stony oint, King's Mountain, or the Cowpens.

Enemy casualties, on the other hand, perhaps may never be dermined with any accuracy. Howe's official dispatch, listing hree British soldiers killed and twenty wounded, completely gnores the losses of the German mercenaries.[48] This was the usual ractice at that time in reporting casualties to the British governnent.[49] But the Germans, it will be remembered, composed three ourths of the attacking force and so, presumably, contributed by ar the greater number in killed and wounded.

That the invaders must have suffered many more casualties han Howe admitted is evident from the reports of heavy enemy osses that trickled in from both sides after the battle. The day ollowing the fight two deserters testified that the total German nd British casualties reached 1,000 men, and several days later wo more deserters verified a severe toll by setting the losses at oo men.[50] The latter pair claimed, "They saw many of the vounded, who all agree in their accounts of a heavy loss on their de."[51] Perhaps these estimates were too high, but they were corborated by the admission of another deserter that "Two Hunred [were] killed on the spot and a great number wounded,"[52] vhile Colonel Loammi Baldwin arrived at the same figure regardng the number killed: "The enemy must have lost at least two undred men dead. I jud[g]e from what I saw my self and good

[47] *American Rebellion*, 50.

[48] General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, Nov. 30, 1776, *American rchives*, 5th Series, III, 922.

[49] Reports of German casualties were made to the sovereign princes of the Gerian states from which the units hailed.

[50] Extract of a Letter from Fort Lee, Oct. 19, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, , 1131–32; and Extract of a Letter from a General Officer, dated Mount Washingn, Oct. 23, 1776, *American Archives*, 5th Series, II, 1202–03.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York: 1901), II, 91.

information."[53] Because Baldwin was the last of the American regimental commanders to break contact with the enemy, his evidence is probably the most reliable.

There is every reason to believe that Glover's brigade did inflict heavy casualties. His men poured more than twenty-five volleys at close ranges of thirty to fifty yards into compact enemy columns along a narrow roadway. Moreover, the fact that they were protected and could steady their muskets upon stone walls permitted the Americans to aim with unusually telling effect. Nor were the patriots nervous; Baldwin reported that his troops were "Calm . . . as though . . . expecting a Shot at a flock of Pidgeons or Ducks."[54] If we can accept Baldwin's figure of 200 slain, then Glover's troops killed more men at Pelham Bay than the enemy dead acknowledged at such important battles as Long Island, Harlem Heights, White Plains, and Princeton. In comparison the American losses of approximately six killed and thirteen wounded were light, as the stone-wall defenses had served the patriots well.[55]

More significant than this numbers game were the strategic consequences of the engagement. What Washington desperately needed on October 18th was time—time to extricate the patriot army from the threat of Howe's encircling movement while the American forces were in the process of withdrawing to White Plains. If the British had not been delayed, the Americans would have faced certain defeat. Glover's spirited and stubborn all-day stand checked the British advance only temporarily. Howe's dilatory strategy did the rest. For two days after the battle, Howe failed to follow up his advantage by pursuing the Americans into the interior. This three-day delay gave Washington time to form a line of temporary redoubts behind the Bronx River to shield the retreating Americans from further attack by Howe's forces.

[53] Baldwin Letter, Oct. 20, 1776.

[54] *Loc. cit.*

[55] These figures are drawn from official returns cited in Dawson, *op. cit.*, 244. Glover, on the other hand, reported eight killed and thirteen wounded in his letter. *Glover Letter*, Oct. 22, 1776.

GLOVER'S ROCK, COMMEMORATING BATTLE OF PELHAM BAY

The bronze tablet, placed by the D.A.R. in 1901, has since disappeared

Photo at The New-York Historical Society

Had Howe chased Glover westward a few miles across the Bronx, which was easily fordable and unprotected on the night of the 18th, he would have planted the British army squarely in front of the retreating American army. General Lee, who was in the vanguard of the withdrawing patriot forces, had only reached a position just above Valentine's Hill at the time. Blocked in the north by Howe, and checked by Percy's troops in Manhattan to the south, the American army would have been crushed in a pincers movement between the two British forces.

If, on the other hand, Howe had headed northward without delay, he would have reached White Plains before the main body of the American army. In this case, a similar fate would have been in store for the patriots. Not only would vital military supplies

have fallen into the hands of the British, but what was even more important, the American columns marching up on widely separated roads would have been in no position to deal with the compact and united enemy force awaiting them. Organized resistance probably would have been smashed, and the patriots would have been forced to flee in remnants across the Hudson as best they could or to make their way into Connecticut as mere refugees.[56]

While historians sometimes have failed to make note of Glover's services at Pelham Bay, at least two American generals did. General Lee sent his warmest thanks to Glover and his brigade, "not only for their gallant behavior yesterday, but for their prudent, cool and orderly and soldierlike conduct in all respects."[57] Two days later, General Washington in his general orders also commended Glover and his brigade and urged other army units to follow their example.[58]

The Pelham Bay battle, then, is important on many counts: as a crucial engagement fraught with strategic significance, as a stimulus to the fighting spirit of the entire army, and as a prominent event in Glover's personal development as a military leader. In this last respect, it should be noted that this encounter revealed Glover's innate capabilities as a tactician. The action took place while Glover and his troops were isolated from the rest of the army, thus providing a unique opportunity to measure the Marbleheader's military abilities while he was strictly on his own. This marked the first time that the little colonel had led a unit of brigade size into combat, and he rose to the occasion. His sound grasp of tactics, his coolness under fire, and his keen insight into the psychology of the American fighting man gave evidence that Glover was ready for the larger command. But of far greater consequence, was the fact that by their aggressiveness at Pelham Bay, Glover and his men saved the American army from encirclement and the patriot cause from a severe, if not disastrous, setback.

[56] Freeman, *op. cit.*, IV, 222.

[57] General Lee Orderly Book, Oct. 19, 1776, Bancroft Transcripts, New York Public Library.

[58] General Orders, Oct. 21, 1776, *Washington's Writings*, VI, 221.

OUR FRIENDLY ENEMIES

THE PRO-AMERICAN CARICATURES OF A LONDON WOMAN PRINTSELLER OF 1776–1778

by R. W. G. Vail

WE ARE APT to forget that, in 1776, the people of England were watching our struggle for freedom from the British crown with a warmly sympathetic interest. Though King George and his ministers, with the aid of British grenadiers and German mercenaries, were frequently successful in their earlier campaigns, each defeat of the redcoats was cheered almost as heartily in the home country as in the American colonies. In fact this sympathy for the Americans was so strong that King George found it virtually impossible to secure recruits for his regular army in America and so was forced to hire the Hessians to do his fighting for him.

Though a flood of newspaper articles and editorials, speeches, and separate pamphlets supporting the American cause appeared in England from the days of the Stamp Act in 1765 to the end of the war, the most lively and important pro-American propaganda took the form of the hundreds of separately published caricatures eagerly studied in the print shops and coffee houses of London and the provincial towns. Virtually all of these keenly satirical and broadly humorous attacks on the ministerial conduct of the American war were published in great numbers but, aside

from the extensive collection in the British Museum,[1] comparatively few of them have been preserved to our day, especially in American libraries and print collections. A fairly good selection will be found in the libraries of the Boston area, in the New York Public Library, and in our own Print Room, but the best collection in this country was assembled years ago by the late R. T. Haines Halsey and is now in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence.[2]

One particularly amusing and unusual series of these pro-American caricatures seems to have been inspired by the outlandish headdresses just becoming popular in London after having been the rage in Paris. This absurd fashion was described in the *Public Advertiser* of March 16, 1775, as follows:

> The Tradesmen, of course, vie with each other on new Devices; but that which takes most is a Bonnet called *aux Jardines à Anglais* made by order of His Highness the Duke de Chartres. There are many others which are very whimsical. Of these some have the representations of a Village upon them; others of a Forest, a Meadow, a Bridge or a Windmill. . . .[3]

It was perhaps inevitable that the feminine headgear of the day should have been used as an inspiration for this particular series of caricatures since the printseller who published them was a woman, Mrs. Mary Darly, whose shop, in 1776, was located at No. 39 Strand. She and her husband Matthew, who appears to have drawn many of the caricatures she published, including at least part of this series, flourished from about 1754 to 1778. This series of *Comic Prints of Macaronis, etc.* satirized the social as well as the political and military history of the time, but the most telling and certainly the most interesting to us are the four having to do with affairs in America. Some of them were

[1] *Catalogue of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Political and Personal Satires,* volumes IV and V.

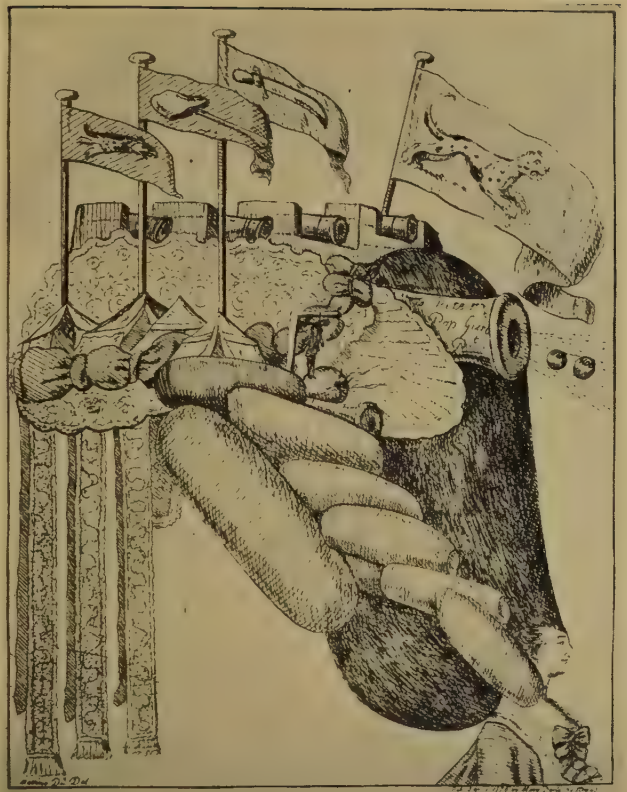
[2] R. T. Haines Halsey, "*Impolitical Prints.*" *An Exhibition of Contemporary English Cartoons Relating to the American Revolution* (The New York Public Library, 1939), 37 pp., illus. (reprinted from the *Bulletin* of the Library, November 1939); R. T. H. Halsey, "English Sympathy with Boston during the American Revolution," in *Old-Time New England,* April–June 1956, 85–95, illus.

[3] As quoted in Halsey, "*Impolitical Prints,*" 15.

ssued two on a page in a numbered series to be bound in albums, vhile other impressions from the same plates were published eparately and without the series numbers. They appeared both olain and hand-colored and most of the single plates measured 1¾ by 9½ inches over all, though the particularly fine *Oh-Heigh-Oh* was somewhat larger. All of these interesting caricatures are in our collection except one. They are individually lescribed as follows:

Bunkers Hill / or America's Head Dress [In lower right corner:] *Pub April 19 by M Darly 39 Strand* [Printed on right-hand half of same sheet with the non-political caricature:] *Cupid's Tower. / Fair tresses Man's imperial race ensnare, / And beauty draws us with a single hair.* [In lower right corner:] *Pub^d March. 1. 1776 by M Darly 39 Strand.* 10¾ by 17½ inches over all. Our collection has the undivided pair, hand-colored. There are uncolored copies of the *Bunkers Hill* print in the British Museum and the John Carter Brown Library.

The headdress in the *Bunkers Hill* caricature satirizes the



Miss CAROLINA SULIVAN
one of the chitterata daughters of America. 1776

NODDLE ISLAND or HOW

lubious victory of the British at the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775, and shows the redoubts, above which fly three arge flags, one representing an ape (Louis XVI of France?), one a goose (General Israel Putnam?) and the other, two women (America and Britannia) offering olive branches to each other. That this caricature was very popular at the time we know from ts having inspired an actual headdress at a London ball, reported as follows in the *General Evening Post* of May 7–9, 1776:

> At the Masqued-Ball at the Pantheon on Monday evening about one housand persons were present . . .; there were a great many fine women, ine jewels, fine dresses, with some good character masks. The best of the atter were . . . a lady with her head dressed agreeable to Darly's carica- ure of a head, so enormous actually [as] to contain both a plan or model of Boston, and of the Provincial army on Bunkers Hill.

Another undivided pair of these Revolutionary caricatures, lso with fortifications, flags and tents, is described as follows: [On the left half of the sheet:] *Miss Carolina Sullivan / one of he obstinate daughters of America 1776.* [At left, within the order:] *Mattina D.* [Matthew Darly] *Del* [and at right, below he border:] *Pub. Sept 1: 1776 by Mary Darly 39 Strand* [At ipper left corner above the border:] *V. 2* [and opposite, at right corner: No.] *97.* [The engraving on the righthand half of he sheet:] *Noddle-Island. or How. are we decieved.* [Signed below the lower border:] *T. S. Sc.* [and below the title, at right:] *Pub^d May 12. 1776 by M Darly Strand.* [In upper left corner, bove border:] *V. 2* [and opposite, at right corner: No.] *78.* 10⅞ by 17¼ inches over all.

Miss Carolina Sullivan is obviously a keen satire on the defeat of Admiral Peter Parker (called *Peter Pop Gun P^t* [pirate?] in he print) and General Clinton in their attack on Fort Moultrie n Sullivan's Island off Charleston, South Carolina, on June 27, 776. The four American flags on the fort represent a fish, a iberty cap, a sword, and a leopard and the decorations include gallows, apparently waiting for *Peter Pop Gun* should he be aptured.

Noddle-Island ridicules Howe's loss of Noddle's Island in Boston Harbor to the Americans. This island was his supply depôt and with it the British lost all the livestock needed to feed the almost-famished army bottled up in the city. Among the decorations of the headdress we see the Americans marching off with a British supply wagon and also the night attack on the two British ships guarding the island which caused their desertion by the marines and the capture of the island by Putnam and his cannon stationed on the nearby hilltops. The capture of his supplies and the menace of Putnam's cannon from Fort Ticonderoga caused Howe's ignominious evacuation of Boston on March 17, 1776. One of the American flags depicts an alligator menacing the enemy while the two British flags show a donkey and a cap and bells. As Halsey points out, the use of the latter flag is "an unquestionable reference to this paragraph in the *Westminster Journal*, March 3, 1776:"

> We hear that the King of Prussia in a late conversation he had with the British Minister at his Court relative to our present war with America observed the internal safety of England was left so unguarded for the purpose of exterminating the Americans, and so open to foreign foes that our Premier ought to be complimented with a Cap and Bells. "Well, but Sir," says the Minister, "suppose France and Spain should not attack us during this rebellion!" "Why then," says the Shrewd Monarch, "the Premier should take off his Cap and Bells and make a joint present of them to the two foreign Ministers."

This undivided and uncolored pair of caricatures is in the John Carter Brown Library. An uncolored copy of the separate *Noddle-Island* print is in the British Museum and our Print Room has a plain copy of the *Miss Carolina Sullivan* caricature.

Oh—Heigh—Oh. / Or a View of the Back Settlements / Pub^d July 9 1776 by M Darly 39 Strand. [In upper lefthand corner: No.] *11.* The headdress is decorated with the following farm products: strings of sausages, carrots, a pear, grapes, etc. 17¾ by 11¼ inches over all. This caricature does not belong to the Revolutionary War series but celebrates the early settlement of the Ohio Country, just being opened to colonization at this time. As Harry Shaw Newman points out in his Old Print Shop *Port-*

olio, February 1957, p. 123, the title of this print may well have been suggested by the caption of a map, *Course of the Ohio River and the Back Settlements*, which appeared in Faden's *Atlas of North America*, published in London in 1777 but containing maps of earlier origin. There is a copy of this caricature in the British Museum and a colored copy in our collection.*

Mrs. Darly published other caricatures of the Revolutionary War than those representing feminine headgear, several of which are in the Halsey collection at the John Carter Brown Library and in the British Museum. Four of them satirize the vain efforts of the Peace Commissioners which the British Ministry sent to America. On April 1, 1778, the King appointed Frederick Earl of Carlisle, William Eden (one of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations), George Johnstone (Captain of the Royal Navy), and the two brothers Howe to meet the Americans at Philadelphia in order "to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of His Majesty's colonies, plantations, and provinces in North America." On the same day Mary Darly's caricature *The Commissioners* was published. The work of the Commissioners was doomed to failure for the Colonies had already entered into a Treaty of Alliance with France and it was too late for the Commissioners to smooth things over, though, on their arrival at Philadelphia on June third, they made every effort to bring about a settlement. Their failure was sarcastically forecast in the Darly caricature, which is described as follows:

The Commissioners. [Signed at right:] *M*[atthew] *Darly* [and above:] *Pub^d April 1. 1778. by M*[ary] *Darly 39 Strand*. 10¾ by 17⅝ inches over all. There is a colored copy at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and plain copies at the British Museum, the John Carter Brown Library, and in our collection.

The caricature represents *America 1778* as an Indian maiden, seated on a pile of outward-bound merchandise and holding a

* Reproduced at the head of this article. All reproductions herein are from our own copies, excepting the "Noodle Island" cartoon, p. 42, from the John Carter Brown Library copy.

wand topped by a liberty cap. The five commissioners, on their knees, are addressing her individually as follows:

1. We have block'd up your ports, obstructed your trade, with the hope of starving ye & contrary to the Law of Nations compell'd your sons to war against their Brethren.
2. We have ravaged your Lands, burnt your Towns, and caus'd your captive Heroes to perish by Cold, pestilence & famine.
3. We have profaned your places of Divine worship, derided your virtue and piety, and scoffed at that spirit which has brought us thus on our knees before ye.
4. We have Ravish'd, Scalp'd, and murdered your People, even from Tender infancy to decrepid age, altho supplicating for Mercy.
5. For all which material services, we the Commissioners from the most pious & best of sovereigns, doubt not your cordial duty & affection towards us, or willingness to submit yourselves again to receive the same, whenever we have power to bestow it on Ye.

It is little short of amazing that such sentiments were prevalent in England in 1778 and that such a caricature could have been published in London with impunity.

RUSHING THE TRANSATLANTIC NEWS IN THE 1830s AND 1840s

by T. H. Giddings

Associate Professor of English and History
United States Merchant Marine Academy

ON THE morning of April 23, 1838 (the newspapers noted that, appropriately, it was St. George's Day), dwellers in ne vicinity of New York City's Battery, joined by several thou- and people from more distant points, were dockside witnesses o one of the great events of the decade. On that morning, the teamer *Sirius*, less than nineteen days out of Cork (she had been ground off Sandy Hook on the 22d), anchored at the southern p of Manhattan. Steamers were common enough, for they had een plying American harbors, rivers, and coasts since the histor- c Hudson River run of Fulton's *Clermont*, thirty-one years ear- er. But the arrival of the *Sirius* was a matter for excited curiosity nd cause for celebration. Never before had New York played ost to a steamer just in from the other side of the Atlantic. Din- ers, speeches, illuminations, toasts, and congratulations were in rder. New York had learned, long before the time of Grover Vhalen, how to give the hero a welcome. Uproarious festivities ad been planned well in advance, thanks to the newspaper pub- city which had been building up for some weeks. But—*dies irabilis!*—there was yet another act to this remarkable drama. or during the afternoon of that same day, the huzzahs were aised once again to the skies when a second transatlantic steam- hip, the *Great Western*, fifteen days out of Bristol, tied up in the ip at the foot of Market Street.[1]

To casual observers, the coincidence of these astonishing ar- ivals made occasion for shouting, dining, and drinking—a wel- ome diversion at a time when New York, like many another

[1] David Budlong Tyler, *Steam Conquers the Atlantic* (New York: 1939), 55–56.

American commercial city, was still in the doldrums of the great depression that followed the Panic of 1837. To the more serious-minded, the coming of the steamships was an item of great economic, and even cultural, importance. A month before the occurrence, James Gordon Bennett, peppery editor of the *Morning Herald*, had predicted its effect in characteristically enthusiastic fashion:

> An event of this nature is one of the most interesting that could possibly happen to the two countries, and is fraught with consequences of incalculable advantage to both; it will be the commencement of a new era in steam navigation, and in the intercourse of Europe and America; and cannot fail to effect a revolution in the commercial and social connections by which the old and new world are united. It will, in effect, philosophically speaking, bring about a union between Great Britain and this country—that social and moral union of which a political connection is but a branch, and by no means the most important one.

Not only would rapid transatlantic transportation provide our sagging economy a much-needed shot-in-the-arm, the editor went on, but also "Manners, arts, commerce, the philosophy of life, the refinement of the old world, its wealth and distinguished personages, will all flow to America by this channel."[2]

Whatever the long-range results of this new and speedy link to the Old World, one immediate effect was obvious—the news of Europe was received in fifteen days instead of thirty or more. The significance of this fact was not overlooked by the newspaper people, who, from the earliest days of American journalism, had given the news from Europe a prominent place in their columns. Bennett was quick to foresee that the transatlantic steamers would revolutionize the gathering of European news, and when the *Sirius* weighed anchor on the first of May for the return voyage, the editor was among her passengers, announcing with a good deal of fanfare that during his sojourn abroad he would organize for the *Herald* a "corps" of foreign correspondents, the finest that any American paper had ever had. He was as good as his word, and on July 17th the *Herald* carried a London

[2] New York *Morning Herald*, March 24, 1838. This paper will be cited hereinafter as the *Herald*.

THE BRITISH S.S. SIRIUS ARRIVING AT NEW YORK, 1838
Litho. printed by H.R. Robinson, New York, 1838
The New-York Historical Society

tter from "one of our corps of European correspondents now rganizing by Mr. Bennett."

In the 1830s and 1840s leading American newspapers gave enerous amounts of space to the news from Europe. In times of reat events abroad, the domestic news was pushed aside to make oom for the affairs of Pope Pius IX, Louis Philippe, Daniel 'Connell, General Cavaignac, Metternich, and many others. We exclude everything else this morning to make room for the oreign News,'"[3] was not an unusual editorial note. At a time hen the country was engaged in the Mexican War and excite- ent on this side of the Atlantic was not lacking, the almost si- ultaneous arrival of a packet from Le Havre and a steamer from iverpool caused the *Tribune* to give five and one half columns n page one and two more on page two to the European news.[4] quieter times the reader might be told that "Our leading article

[3] The *New York Daily Tribune*, December 27, 1847. This paper will be cited here after as the *Tribune*.
[4] *Ibid.*, February 11, 1847.

today was written two days since, but crowded out by the foreign news."[5] Papers in Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Charleston, New Orleans, and many other cities gathered the news from overseas as avidly as did those in New York. Many of them sent correspondents abroad; *e.g.*, the *Atlas* and the *Daily Chronotype* in Boston; the *Picayune* in New Orleans; the *Evening Journal* in Albany; the *United States Gazette*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and the *American* in Philadelphia; and the *National Intelligencer* in Washington.

American interest in the news from Europe was intensified but by no means initiated by the inauguration of transatlantic steamship communication in 1838. The reliance of the newspapers of the Colonial period upon Europe had been largely a matter of necessity. Arduous as the Liverpool-to-Boston passage was in the pre-Revolutionary period, it was not so difficult as the overland journey from Charleston to Massachusetts. During the Revolution and again during the War of 1812, normal contacts between the New World and the Old were interrupted, but in the period of peace following the latter war, Americans looked to Europe with increasing interest. Improved communication was an important factor in the growth of this interest.

As late as 1816, before packet services were begun, ships coming to New York from Liverpool averaged seven weeks.[6] The remarkable packets did much to improve this situation after they began their runs in 1818. With following winds they were able to make the run from New York to Liverpool in about three weeks, and the westerly voyage in about five. Though they made surprisingly good records of speedy on-schedule runs, these sailing vessels were necessarily subject to nature's whims, and the calms were as exasperating as the tempests were dangerous. When Theodore S. Fay went abroad in the fall of 1833 as a foreign correspondent for the *New-York Mirror*, he was fifty-eight days out on a run from New York to Marseilles.[7] This was longer than

[5] *Herald*, September 7, 1838.
[6] Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *The Rise of New York Port* (New York: 1939), 51.
[7] *The New-York Mirror*, May 24, 1834.

sual, the result of bad luck in wind and weather, but until the ansatlantic steamships came into their own, in 1838, the element chance remained considerable. The new era of travel was amatized in an address by Gulian C. Verplanck at an entertainent given abroad the *Great Western* in the first year of her Atntic service. The prominent New York lawyer, politician, and thor said that in looking over some old newspapers he had enountered one from the mid-1700s giving an account of the coroation of George III. It had been brought out in the *Sally Ann* om Bristol in eighty days. The account of Victoria's coronaon, the speaker observed, had recently been carried over the me route in fourteen days.[8]

The speed-up of the Atlantic passage gave a new impetus to the ready-existing rivalry among the newspapers to be the first ith the news of Europe. Editors were alike in their dependence pon the ships which brought the news, but there was plenty of oom for individual enterprise, on the part of those in the seaoard cities, in bringing the news from the ships to the newspaper ffices, thence to the compositors' rooms, and finally "onto the reet." One of the first of the speed-up devices was the newsoat. Early in the century, eager editors such as John Lang of the New York *Gazette* and Aaron Smith Willington of the Charlesn *Courier* had servants—slaves, in Willington's case—row them ut to greet incoming ships. Having learned where the vessels ere from, what cargo they carried, to whom it was consigned, nd what were the latest developments in Europe, they hurried he information back to their newspaper offices and got it quickly nto print. Beginning in 1811 Samuel Topliff obtained news in his manner for the reading room at Samuel Gilbert's Exchange Coffee House in Boston. Topliff later maintained the Merchants' Reading Room, had regular correspondents abroad, and sold the ews he obtained from them to papers in Boston, New York and hiladelphia.[9]

The next advance in newsgathering came when the oared

[8] *Herald*, August 21, 1838.
[9] Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York: 1947), 194–195.

news-boats were replaced by speedy sailing craft. James Gordon Bennett, who picked up the idea while in the employ of Willington on the Charleston *Courier*, introduced it in New York in the twenties. In the middle of that decade several of the latter city's morning papers organized an association for the purpose of sharing the expense of about $2,500 a year incurred in maintaining the boats. In 1827 two newly founded papers, the *Courier and Enquirer* and the *Journal of Commerce*, plunged enthusiastically into the task of collecting the news from the ships. The latter paper joined the association while the former maintained its own news-collecting arrangements. The *Courier's* go-it-alone policy proved costly, $4,300 per year by its own estimate, and in 1828 its proprietors also joined the association. At about this time the *Journal* decided to procure its own news-schooner. In the next few years the competition cost the morning papers about $10,000 annually; but by mid-1831 this figure had more than doubled and six news-schooners, "besides various small boats," were participating in the competition.[10]

On September 12, 1831, the *Courier* announced that on the fifteenth it would commence operating its own news-boat, appropriately named the "Courier & Enquirer." Apparently Editor James Watson Webb was a bit nettled by his first results, for several days later the *Courier* remarked editorially, "with a view to put down slanderous stories in circulation—that since the shifting of her ballast on Friday morning, the 'Courier & Enquirer' has beaten every boat with which she has come in contact."[11] From here on the rivalry became a mad scramble, the papers vying with one another not only in racing down the harbor and far out to sea—on one occasion Webb's boat picked up news from the packet *Napoleon* seventy miles east of Sandy Hook[12]—but also in printing vituperative editorials boasting of their priority with the news.

Webb's detailed account of one of his early trips aboard the

[10] The *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*, September 24, 1831. This paper will be cited hereinafter as the *Courier*.

[11] *Ibid.*, September 19, 1831.

[12] *Ibid.*, October 4, 1831.

AMES G. BENNETT (1795–1872)
Editor, N.Y. *Morning Herald*
ngr. by C. Ourden, *c.* 1852 (NYHS)

JAMES W. WEBB (1802–1884)
Editor, *Courier & Enquirer*
From *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 4, 1858

ews-boat is alive with a newsman's excitement and the thrill hich must have been felt, at least in part, by his readers. After escribing the fifty-nine-ton schooner and its seven-man crew, Vebb tells of making a careful patrol out as far as forty miles eyond Sandy Hook, every pair of eyes straining to catch sight f an incoming packet. For sixty-one hours this wearing search oes on. At last, at 9:30 A.M. on the third day, the *Salem* is ghted. The "Courier & Enquirer" quickly puts over her yawl, hich runs alongside the packet. The captain heaves over a undle of papers, and the yawl scuds back to the schooner. The tter takes the yawl aboard and the news-boat bears down to- ard Coney Island. Here at 1:38 P.M. the news-collector hastens shore, mounts horse, and is off "on the full jump" for town. At :39 P.M. he communicates by the semaphoric telegraph "the ntrance of the French army into Belgium and the state of the iverpool markets." At 4:50 P.M. the "Courier & Enquirer" is ack in her slip at White Hall, and the *Courier* has beaten her vals by several hours.[13]

[13] *Courier*, October 3, 1831.

Other editors were as enthusiastic as Webb. When the *Sun*, New York's first successful penny daily, entered the field in 1833, its founder, Benjamin H. Day, won a wide circulation for the paper with emphasis upon local news of the human-interest or sensational type. However, his son-in-law, Moses Y. Beach, who took over the paper in 1837, soon had his boats racing down the bay in the approved fashion, vying for a "beat" on the foreign news.[14] And when James Gordon Bennett launched the *Herald* in 1835, he brought an energy to his task which promised to put a drive into news-collecting beyond anything it had yet known. Bennett's personality was not of a kind which would lend itself to joint endeavors of the news-boat type. Almost immediately he had his own small fleet of boats, of which he was inordinately proud, rushing out to meet approaching vessels. By his own far-from-modest testimony these efforts met with the highest degree of success. He regularly treated *Herald* readers to such editorial comments as: "Our News-Boat Establishment, consisting of the *Teazer*, the *Celeste*, and the *Boxer*, are connected with no other newspaper in the city but the *Herald*. By means of this organized fleet, we have beaten the whole Wall Street press for several days in succession, and we can do so again."[15]

When Samuel Cunard established an excellent steamship service between Liverpool and Boston, the New York papers found a new field for their news-collecting talents—the speedy conveyance of the news from the Massachusetts capital to New York. Actually, their efforts extended even further, for since the Cunarders commonly stopped at Halifax before steaming on to Boston, truly eager editors could make arrangements for forwarding the news from the Nova Scotian city. In this competition they utilized horse expresses, speedy coastwise steam vessels, railroads, and even carrier pigeons.

These "expresses," as they were called, resulted in as many

[14] Frank M. O'Brien, *The Story of the Sun* (New York: 1918), 142.
[15] *Herald*, December 13, 1837.

BY SPECIAL AND EXTRAORDINARY
EXPRESS!

ARRIVAL OF THE HIBERNIA!

TWENTY-TWO DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE!

RESTORATION
OF THE PEEL MINISTRY!

RECEPTION OF THE
President's Message!

INDICATIONS OF PEACE!

At 10 o'clock last evening we received by the Special and Extraordinary Express arranged for The Tribune and several other journals, the Foreign Intelligence brought by the steamship HIBERNIA, which arrived in Boston yesterday, after a passage of 18 days from Liverpool.

The Express came by locomotive to Worcester, by horse from that place to Hartford, thence by locomotive to New-Haven, and from the latter place to this City by horse.

Our Express arrived in advance of all others—indeed at this moment (2 o'clock, A. M.) we believe the Government and Herald Expresses have not made their appearance! Thus have we distanced all competitors.

Two Philadelphia journals—the *North American* and *U. S. Gazette*—each ran an Express from this city to Philadelphia, receiving their supply of papers through us or our cotemporaries. Their packages were conveyed to Jersey City in the same boat, and each will endeavor to get through to Philadelphia with the news before the other.

The news is of great importance, and will be received by the friends of Peace in this Country with

races as ever the news-boat rivalry had. By this time, Horace Greeley's *Tribune*, founded in 1841, had become a spirited participant in the contest. A typical six-deck head and lead for one of Greeley's express dispatches ran thus:

By Special and Extraordinary Express! / Arrival of the Hibernia! / Twenty-two days later from Europe! / Restoration of the Peel Ministry! / Reception of the President's Message! / Indications of Peace! / At 10 o'clock last evening we received by the Special and Extraordinary Express arranged for the Tribune and several other journals, the Foreign Intelligence brought by the steamship HIBERNIA, which arrived in Boston yesterday, after a passage of 18 days from Liverpool. The Express came by locomotive to Worcester, by horse from that place to Hartford, thence by locomotive to New-Haven, and from the latter place to this city by horse.[36]

In February, 1846, the *Tribune* was exuberant over its express, which carried the *Cambria's* news from Halifax to the Bay of Fundy by horse, from there to Portland by "powerful steamship," from Portland to Boston by locomotive. This much was accomplished in thirty-one hours. The lap from Boston to New York was managed as before.[37] On such occasions the *Tribune* gave over its entire front page to the foreign news.

A month after this, Greeley announced that the whole

[36] *Tribune*, January 24, 1846. (Reproduced above.)
[37] *Ibid.*, February 20, 1846.

Halifax-New York run had been achieved by the express in forty-seven hours.[18] In this instance the *Courier* had to be content with the consolation prize. Editor Webb's explanation reveals details of a competition as "extraordinary" as the expresses themselves. The *Courier*, along with the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Tribune*, the *Morning Express*, and the *United States Gazette*, had arranged for an express to bring the *Hibernia's* news from Boston. However, the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Tribune*, and "some other papers" got up *in addition* another express from Halifax to New York. This second one beat the *Hibernia* to Boston by five hours but arrived in New York only forty-five minutes ahead of the original express. To Webb it seemed that justice had come very close to a triumph.[19]

These procedures were more or less standard for the prominent New York papers of the 1830s and 1840s. There were, in addition, several other devices which were used with varying degrees of success. Moses Y. Beach of the *Sun*, for example, had a London correspondent who ran a special horse-express with news-letters to the ships at Bristol.[20] The *Sun* also made use of carrier pigeons. On the roof of the *Sun's* building stood a huge pigeon house and here lived the birds which brought the latest news from the ships at Sandy Hook, from Albany, and from Washington. "Part of the flock in our possession," said the *Sun* editorially, "were employed by the London Morning Chronicle in bringing intelligence from Dublin to London, and from Paris to London, crossing both channels; therefore they are not novices in the newspaper express."[21] Another user of pigeons was Daniel H. Craig, who had experimented with them while working with Arunah S. Abell on the Baltimore *Sun*. He later went to Boston, where he established himself as an independent news-collector.[22] Finally, he went northward to Halifax, where he used

[18] *Ibid.*, March 20, 1846.
[19] *Courier*, March 20, 1846.
[20] O'Brien, *op. cit.*, 157–158.
[21] New York *Sun*, December 14, 1843.
[22] Douglass B. Miller, "Daniel H. Craig," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 1943).

NEW YORK HARBOR ON MUSIC SHEET COVER (NEW YORK: 1836)

Bella C. Landauer Collection, New-York Historical Society

igeons to distribute his news to clients as far away as Washing-
on. Bennett's *Herald* was one of the chief buyers.[23]

The most notable advance in speedy news transmission during
his era came with the introduction of the magnetic telegraph.
arly in 1843 the Congress appropriated $30,000 to enable
Morse to build a telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore.
was in May of the following year that the line was completed
nd that the famous "What hath God wrought!" message sped
ver the wire which linked the two cities. In spite of a variety of
bstacles and of the intense competition between rival telegraph
ompanies, the spread of the new means of communication was
stonishingly rapid. By 1846 the lines linked New York with

[23] Mott, *op. cit.*, 246.

Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington; with Boston; and with Albany and Buffalo. The best customer for the telegraph was the press. Canada was soon brought into the network. "European news flashed from New York to Buffalo by telegraph, was relayed on to Lewiston by stage or railroad and then sent across Lake Ontario to Toronto by steamer." And before the end of 1846 Toronto had been linked to Niagara by wire.[24]

The impact of the telegraph caused a second revolution in news-gathering procedures. Within about two years of Morse's successful linking of Baltimore and Washington, all of New York's leading papers carried columns of telegraphic news.[25] These were commonly headed "By Electric Telegraph," or "By Magnetic Telegraph." The wild competition using horse relays, railroads, and speedy boats to spread the news deposited at Halifax or Boston by the latest Cunarder was soon supplanted by the rush for the nearest telegraph office. The linking of Halifax and Portland by wire in 1847 brought from Bennett the comment that soon the foreign markets could be made known throughout the whole country a few minutes after the arrival of the Cunarder and that even the extreme West and South would be brought within nine or ten days of England.[26]

The increasing complexities and costs of news-gathering led to a cooperative effort of six of the larger New York newspapers in 1848. This organization, originally composed of the *Sun*, *Herald*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Courier and Enquirer*, *Tribune*, and *Express*, eventually came to be known as the New York Associated Press. The early objective of the group seems to have been the procuring of the foreign news which was brought to Boston by ship. One telegraphic transmission of such news was to serve the six papers. Presently they also formed a Harbor News Association for the purpose of meeting ships coming into

[24] Robert Luther Thompson, *Wiring a Continent: The Telegraph Industry in the United States* (Princeton: 1947), Chaps. I–IV.

[25] Allan Nevins, *The Evening Post: A Century of Journalism* (New York: 1922), 187.

[26] *Herald*, July 12, 1847.

New York harbor, one fleet of boats thus supplanting a half dozen which had been vying for priority.[27] When the association undertook arrangements to speed the news from Halifax, it ran into strong competition from Daniel H. Craig and his pigeons. But when the telegraph reached that city in 1849, the pigeons were unable to meet the challenge of electricity, and their proprietor was shortly on the payroll of the New York group as Halifax agent, its first representative on foreign soil.[28]

Before the mid-century, American enterprise was moving the news by telegraph on the European as well as on this side of the Atlantic. When Queen Victoria presided at the opening of Parliament late in 1847, Charles H. Peabody, American correspondent of the *Tribune* and several other papers, waited tensely in a telegraph office in Southampton. Presently the clicking of the receiver told him that Her Majesty's words were starting at that instant to be relayed to him by his agent in the London office. A capable operator, Peabody copied the message from the wire himself. He then hastened with it aboard a fast Channel steamer, purposely delayed to accommodate the reporter, crossed to Le Havre and placed his copy aboard the French steamer *Union* for conveyance to New York. That his fine effort to obtain a triumphant "scoop" for the *Tribune* ended in failure, was no fault of Peabody's. The *Union*, her hull leaky and her pumps choked, turned around in mid-Atlantic and put back to her port in France.[29]

Peabody's bad luck brought disappointment, no doubt; but he must have found consolation in the praise with which several British papers recognized his enterprise.[30] In any case, the incident well indicates the great distance the American press had come in news-gathering processes since the days when editors rowed out to secure their budgets of news from sailing vessels inbound from Europe.

[27] Mott, *op. cit.*, 251.
[28] Oliver Gramling, *AP: The Story of News* (New York: 1940), 26.
[29] *Tribune*, December 27, 1847, and January 5, 1848.
[30] *Ibid.*, December 27, 1847.

GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM AND THE AMERICAN ART-UNION[1]

by JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT

Associate Professor of English, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

GEORGE Caleb Bingham was not the most obliging of artists—at least so far as biographers and historians are concerned. The great difficulty that anyone wishing to write about him must face is the scarcity of correspondence and other personal papers. He had one intimate friend, James S. Rollins of Columbia, Missouri, to whom he is said to have written perhaps a thousand letters, but hardly more than a hundred of them have survived and only six for the very significant period between 1837 and 1851. A collection of family papers with some letters from the artist to his first wife is valuable but not extensive. Only one letter to the publisher of his prints, Goupil and Company, has been found. There is no diary, no autobiography (save a very brief fragment, written in his last years, which did not get beyond his early boyhood in Virginia), no account book of work finished and paid for.

With Bingham letters such a rarity even half a dozen represent a find of importance, especially when they are concerned with his work as artist (many of his letters to Rollins are filled with political matters) and with his relations with the first patron of his genre work, the American Art-Union.[2]

Bingham's initial contact with the New York institution had been with its predecessor, James Herring's Apollo Gallery. When the Missouri artist visited New York in the summer of

[1] I am indebted to a fellowship from the Newberry Library and a grant-in-aid from the American Philosophical Society for the opportunity to do the research on which this article is based.

[2] All of Bingham's correspondence used herein, with the exception of his letter to Rollins, is in the American Art-Union papers (97 ms. vols. containing 37,902 letters to and from the Art-Union) which were presented to The New-York Historical Society in 1863.

FUR TRADERS DESCENDING THE MISSOURI

By George Caleb Bingham, 1845

Owned by The Metropolitan Museum of Art

838, he arranged for exhibition at the Apollo of the very earliest f his scenes of western life, a picture—unhappily lost—entitled *Vestern Boatman Ashore.*

It was not, however, until Bingham returned from Washing-on in 1844 to settle once more in Missouri that he seriously gave is attention to genre and landscape. In the next year he pro-uced and sold to the American Art-Union four pictures: *Fur raders Descending the Missouri*, *The Concealed Enemy*, *Cot-ge Scenery*, and *Landscape*, the first named being the earliest f his surviving genre pieces and one of his finest. A year later he ainted for the Art-Union *Boatmen on the Missouri*, *Landscape ith Cattle*, and *The Jolly Flatboatmen.* In the December 1847 stribution he was represented by the last-named picture vhich had been held out of distribution the previous season be-

cause it was being engraved for the membership) and *Raftmen Playing Cards;* in 1848 by *The Stump Orator;* in 1849 by *Raftmen on the Ohio*, *St. Louis Wharf*, *Watching the Cargo*, *Country Politician*, and *A Boatman;* and, finally, in the 1852 auction of pictures bought for the 1851 distribution that had never been made, by *Cattle Piece*, *Fishing on the Mississippi*, *The Squatters*, *The Trappers' Return*, *Shooting for the Beef*, and *The Wood-Boat.*

These twenty pictures were by no means his entire production during this period, but their purchase, exhibition, and distribution by the Art-Union gained the painter public attention that he would have been slower to win otherwise. Their purchase was important, too, for quite another very practical reason: nothing so encourages a writer or a painter as to be paid for his work (odd as that may sound). Bingham could make a good living doing heads but he wanted to go beyond portraiture. Though he never received from the American Art-Union more than $350 for a single painting, he was being paid to paint the kind of pictures that most interested him. He could afford to give time to building up a reputation for a special "line," as the current phrase went. This opportunity he owed to the Art-Union. That organization, summing up in its *Bulletin* for October 1849, what it had accomplished to date, declared that Bingham acknowledged "his indebtedness to us as the first patron of his higher efforts, and his main-stay in all attempts beyond the line of portraiture." And well he might. The service of this institution in stimulating American artists cannot be over-emphasized.

Relations between the Missouri artist and the American Art-Union were for some years quite pleasant. At first Bingham shipped his pictures to New York and accepted willingly enough the sums offered him. Some difficulties arose over the handling of *The Stump Orator.* It reached Robert Fraser, corresponding secretary, at the time he was leaving the Art-Union and he took charge of the painting as Bingham's private agent. After nearly a year's uncertainty about it, Bingham seems to have written to the

WATCHING THE CARGO

By George Caleb Bingham, 1849

Owned by the State Historical Society of Missouri

Art-Union in October 1848, demanding news. Andrew Warner replied that Fraser, acting for Bingham, had offered the picture to the Art-Union, withdrawn it, exhibited it at the National Academy of Design show in the spring months, and had lately accepted $350 for it in Bingham's name. At this time it was being shown in the Art-Union rooms. The price, Warner explained soothingly, was not intended "to undervalue your labors, or the artistic merit of the painting." The Committee "did not suppose that price to be a compensation for the labor even, to say nothing of the great ability required which alone could produce such a remarkable variety in point of characteristic expression," but the "subject and color were not viewed by them as favorably as some of your other works, and they were governed accordingly in making the offer." (This painting is still among the "lost" Binghams.)

THE JOLLY FLATBOATMEN

By George Caleb Bingham, 1846

Engraving by T. Doney, 1847, for the American Art-Union

Bingham made his first visit to the American Art-Union in the summer of 1849. Warner, writing on July 19th to William P. Curtis, Honorary Secretary at St. Louis, mentioned that "We have a Missouri friend here on a visit, M^r^ Bingham the painter of the Jolly Flatboatmen. He is going to paint here for a couple of months. We like him quite as much as a man as we do as a painter." The Missourian was officially interviewed, and the interview appeared promptly in the August *Bulletin*.

A clever picture by Bingham, the Missouri artist, has been added to the purchases since our last publication. One or two other works by him will probably be upon exhibition during the present month and will attract much attention by the fidelity of their representations of Western life and manners. . . . these works are thoroughly American in their subjects, and could never have been painted by one who was not perfectly familiar with the scenes they represent. It was this striking nationality of character, combined with considerable power in form and expression, which

st interested the Art-Union in these productions, notwithstanding the stence of obvious faults. This assistance of the Society was of material portance to the artist. Indeed, according to his own statement, if it d not been bestowed, he would never have attempted that peculiar ss of subjects which have given him all his reputation. It is pleasant to that this encouragement was properly bestowed. . . . His figures have ne *vitality* about them. They look out of their own eyes. They stand on their legs. They are shrewd or merry or grave or quizzical. They not merely empty ghosts of figures—mere pictures of jackets and owsers, with masks attached to them.

Immediately on arriving in New York Bingham had sent ound to the Art-Union rooms at least one of the pictures he d brought from St. Louis. He then wrote concerning it:

[New York]
Art Union Committee July 2 1849
ent.

I propose to sell you the "raftmen on the Ohio" for the Sum of three ndred and fifty dollars—in fixing this price I am governed by the sum eceived for the "raftmen at cards" $300.00—The present picture re-ired the same amount of labour in design—and is in my judgement in vance of the former in point of colour.

Geo C Bingham

he Committee countered with an offer of $300, which appar-tly he accepted.

A month later Bingham had four more pictures ready, two of hich had been completed in St. Louis; the others may have been ished in New York.

o the Committee of the American Art Union
ent.

I have sent to your room four pictures which I wish to sell. Being controlled in my judgment by the prices which I have hereto-re recieved for similar works, I value the "St. Louis Wharf" at $350, the oup upon the Missouri watching the Cargo of a Wrecked Steamer at oo, the Country Politician at $200, and the small picture, the "Boat-an" at $50. If this estimate should not accord with your judgment, I ll respectfully consider any proposition you may feel justified in aking.

Your Obt. Svt.

Geo C Bingham

ew York Aug. 1st 1849

The Art-Union paid him $600 for the lot.

In the fall of 1849 Bingham returned to Missouri where he was busy with portraits, but he found time to paint several genre pieces. In November 1850 he was once more in New York with an offer of three pictures:

New York Nov. 19 1850

To the American Art Union

I have placed in the office of the Art Union two pictures, the "*Squatters*" and the "*Wood Boat*," which I desire to sell.

The Squatters as a class, are not fond of the toil of agriculture, but erect their rude Cabins upon those remote portions of the National domain, where the abundant game supplies their phisical wants. When this source of subsistance becomes diminshed, in consequence of increasing settlements around, they usually sell out their slight improvement, with their "*preemtion title*" to the land, and again follow the receding footsteps of the Savage.

The "*Wood Boat*" is a group such as the traveller daily sees upon the navigable waters of the west. The wood for sale is conveniently placed in a flat boat, while the hardy *choppers* await a purchaser in some approaching steamer.

These pictures I offer for sale at two hundred dollars each, including the frames.

Very respectfully

G. C. Bingham

P. S. There is also a small picture Cattle and Landscape, for which I am willing to take fifty dollars without frame.

G. C. B.

By 1851 Bingham was indeed a successful painter in his "line" and was beginning to feel that he was not sufficiently appreciated by the Art-Union in an area the professional is always sensitive about, the pocketbook. "I have discovered since I have been here," he wrote to Rollins from New York, March 30, 1851, "that the present managers of the Art Union display in some cases gross favoritism in the purchase of their pictures, and in my transactions with them hereafter, I shall act as if I were dealing with a Jew."[3] We cannot be sure what upset him, but it may have been the fact, for example, that Henry Peters Gray was paid

[3] This letter is in the State Historical Society of Missouri.

THE CONCEALED ENEMY

By George Caleb Bingham, 1845

Owned by Peabody Museum, Harvard University

$2,000 for his *Wages of War* and *Apple of Discord* whereas Bingham received only $350 for *Shooting for the Beef*. Comparisons are odious indeed when they involve money.

Bingham did not, however, break off relations with the Art-Union, for in the summer of 1851 he was planning to send several pictures east in the fall:

Col Warner Columbia June 29 1851
My Dr Sir

I recieved, a few days since, your favour of the 7th inst. enclosing a draft for $125.00 for which accept my thanks. I am at present painting portraits, and will be thus employed for some time. I may however be enabled to send you two or three small pictures this fall. Maj Rollins tells me that he expects to send you a few subscribers, himself among them.

Please put me down a subscriber for the present year and send me the Bulletin.

Myself and wife reached home in safety after a somewhat fatiguing travel. present our joint regards to Mrs Warner and daughter.

Yours

Very respectfully

G. C. Bingham

The pictures referred to may have included *Canvassing for a Vote* and *The Checker Players*, but neither was sent on to New York. Work on *The County Election* and portraiture apparently had not allowed him to complete the small pieces in time.

Matters came to an unpleasant head between Bingham and the Art-Union during the next winter. In the *Bulletin* for December 1851 a writer, signing himself "W.," in discussing "the development of nationality in American art," seriously offended the Missourian by writing: "Mount is the only one of our figure painters who has thoroughly succeeded in delineating American life. . . . Bingham has made some good studies of western character, but so entirely undisciplined yet mannered, and often mean in subject, and showing such want of earnestness in the repetitions of the same faces, that they are hardly entitled to rank." Bingham, understandably annoyed, wrote to the Art-Union asking space for a reply:

Col Andrew Warner — St Louis Jan. 31 1852
Cor.Sec. Am. Art Union
Dr Sir

In glancing over the December number of the American Art Union Bulletin, I perceive, in a leading article on National Art, a paragraph, containing statements, which a due regard for my professional reputation impels me to controvert.

As, in justice, I should be permitted to reach the public mind through the same channel by which my works have been assailed, I desire to know whether the Columns of the Bulletin will be at my service, should I deem it best to use them for that purpose.

An early reply, favouring me with this information, will much oblige

Your Obt. Svt.

Geo. C. Bingham

Colonel Warner presently replied:

I have been so much occupied for three or four months that I scarcely oked into the Bulletins, and did not see the article you refer to until the ceipt of your letter.—It is a communication, not written by the editor, d to answer which the columns of the Bulletin will be at your service. he first number will be published 1st April as usual, and will likely be r largest edition and reach every member of 1851 and consequently ord the best opportunity of reaching those that may have read the mmunication in question.

By the time Bingham received this letter he had changed his ind and had decided to sue the Art-Union for damages:

ol. Andrew Warner St Louis March 1st 1852
rt Union N.Y.

r Sir

Your favour of the 16th Ult. has just been received. I addressed to you e enquiry to which it responds, immediately after discovering the in- rious publication refered to, and when no other mode of redress, than e one indicated, had suggested itself to my mind. Upon subsequent flection, however, I became convinced that the attack upon my works, uncalled for, unprovoked and unsustained by the slightest evidence, ould justly subject those who are responsible for its appearance in the ulletin to a prosecution for damages; And I have already written to ew York to engage the Services of an Attorney for that purpose.

Ardently desiring the advance of Art, I have been a sincere friend of e Art Union, but when its instruments are perverted from their proper fice; and used to inflict upon me a wanton injury, I know no paramount nsideration which should deter me from pursuing such mode of redress I may deem most effectual.

Feeling truly obliged to you for your kind and prompt attention to y wishes, I remain, with sentiments of the highest regard,

Sincerely Yours

Geo. C Bingham

Of this suit nothing more is known. Probably with the New ork court order for the dissolution of the Art-Union there was othing left to sue. On this unpleasant note Bingham's relation ith the American Art-Union came to a close.

THE LILY.

A MONTHLY JOURNAL, DEVOTED TO TEMPERANCE AND LITERATURE.

Published by ~~a Committee of Ladies.~~—TERMS—Fifty Cents a Year, in Advance.

VOL. I. SENECA FALLS, JANUARY 1, 1849. NO. 1.

POETRY.

LADY EDITORS:—

The following lines are respectfully inscribed to "*The Lily*," if you deem them a meet tracery for its virgin leaves.

LINES.

"Drink stranger from this crystal cup!
Our Father placed it here,
Dew for the Lily's pearly lip,
And for the wanderer, a cheer."

Thus spake a soft voice warblingly,
Like to a harp that is just set free . .
From a Lotus that hung by a fountain's side,
As if it were the wavelet's bride.

A Youth was sitting with bended form,
'Mid the shadows of a wood;
Where the plane tree lifted its gaudy grove,
And the pine its crested hood.

His eye was red, and his brain was hot,
For a fever had lurked there long;
Yet his face was pale as the cheek at night,
When Conscience bares its thong.

And he started when he heard that voice,
As from a dream's beguile;
For it came like the chiding of one we love;
So said, and yet a smile.

He looked around whence the voice might come,
But the guest and the chaunt were gone;
Save the Lily that hung in the fountain's light,
Beautiful and alone.

He looked at the flower, and again he looked,
And yet he knew not why;
For it minded him of a guileless heart,
And Purity's last sigh.

And in that little point of time,
On that still happy morn,
Years thrust their sable canopy,
Of sorrow and of scorn.

Home! forms that were! the darkling tide
Deeper and wilder rushed;
A boon that might have made him blest,
A boon that he had crushed

And then that voice came startling near,
Solemn, the smile was cast,
And that low pleading came once more,
It was to be the last.

"Press not the wine-cup to thy palm,
Thou Wanderer! again;
Or it shall smite thee to thy soul,
With an undying pain.

Thy Mother's dying agony.
Thy Father's look of woe,
Alike are less a draught for thee,
Than thou again shalt know.

Hurl then the goblet from thy lip,
Thy parched lip, and see
That Heaven hath yet a gift of love,
Thou prayerless one, for thee!"

It ceased! still motionless he bent
Beneath those shadows dim;
Tears to another might have come,
They did not come to him.

Then he arose, and raised his hand,
As if grasping power not here;
And uttered words that may not be
Uttered to mortal ear.

But one was there that heard that vow,
And sped unwearied flight;
Nor paused till on Life's spotless page,
Was writ each word of light.

Twelve moons had waned, and hung their bows,
Upon the eastern sky,
E'er 'mid those forest aisles again,
A youth trod pensively.

'Twas morn—and the red sun was not yet
On film and high Palm tree;
Yet many a wing was glancing through
Their verdant balcon.

Yes—'twas the same, the very same—
The bank, the moss, the wood,
Where twelve swift passing months before,
An outcast wanderer stood

And the fount was there and bathed the air,
With its misty veil of white;
And still that "Lily" rose and laid
Its forehead to the light.

And the eye that looked upon the flower,
Was damp as its crystal cup;
And with that twilight's morning star
One voice in praise went up.

Auburn, 1848

THE OLD CLOAK.

BY MRS. D — —.

"Pray, Mr. Norton," exclaimed a lively lady to a fashionably dressed, handsome young man, to who was standing beside her at an evening party, "pray, do you intend to remain an old bachelor all your days! Since your return from Europe I have been continually expecting to hear of your ——— to, but here you have been, two years, and day and still, to all appearance, "in statu quo," as the lawyers say."

"My dear Mrs. Hinton," replied the young gentleman, with a smile, "I will be frank and tell you the real reason of my remaining a general admirer of the sex, instead of confining my attentions to any one 'bright, particular star,' however much I may be dazzled by its brilliancy. I am actually *afraid to marry*."

"Afraid!" echoed the lady, opening her dark eyes to their widest extent with astonishment. "'Faint heart never won,' you know. Are you afraid to propose!"

"No, madam, afraid to *marry*. You will laugh at me, I dare say, when I tell you that my seat in church has a great deal to do with my solitary state, which seems so much to excite your surprise."

"Why, yes," replied Mrs. Hinton, "one is always surprised when a young man who—without meaning to flatter you—is certainly a favorite in society, (here Mr. Norton made her a polite bow,) and who has an independent fortune, still refrains from choosing one of the many fair damsels whom he meets, to superintend his establishment. But what influence your seat in church can have upon the matter I am at a loss to imagine."

"You must know, then, that I sit just behind Miss La Mode, in Dr. Righthead's church, and the sight of her velvet cloak absolutely frightens me from the thought of marrying a wife who may some day say to me, 'My dear, I am dying for a new velvet cloak: please to give me two or three hundred dollars, and I will go to Stewart's and buy one.' How I should shudder to hear such a request."

"Really, Mr. Norton, this is too absurd, for you, with your fortune, to talk in such a manner. I shall begin to think you a miser. Your wife might dress as extravagantly as she chose, and it would not injure you. And surely you do not object to a lady's wearing a velvet cloak?"

"I do not object to anything that is consistent, but I cannot help thinking splendid velvet, such as Queen Victoria herself might be satisfied with for a coronation robe, sadly out of place when it is made into a cloak, to be worn on almost all occasions; particularly when it is well known that Miss La Mode's father does not even pay his baker or his butcher. If I were one of his poor creditors I should be tempted to take the cloak from the young lady, in the street, and sell it for what it would bring."

Mrs. Hinton sat silent at this speech. Her conscience reproached her, for she knew that she had, on that day, purchased an elegant new mantle, although her husband had requested her to be as economical as possible in her expenditures, as he found it difficult, in those trying times, to meet all the demands made upon his purse. She was a woman however of generous feelings, as yet unhardened by resisting good impulses, and she secretly resolved to take back the mantle the next day and prevail upon the shop-man to receive it, since it was not yet paid for. All this passed through her mind with the rapidity of lightning,

VOL. I, NO. 1, PAGE 1, FROM MRS. BLOOMER'S PERSONAL FILE

Enlarged from the Society's microfilm of the N.Y. State Library copy

PIONEER WOMEN'S-RIGHTS MAGAZINE

by Louis H. Fox, *Reference Assistant*

THE SOCIETY has assembled on microfilm a complete file of *The Lily*, that unique magazine whose eight volumes, 49–1856, comprise a most important source for the study of e early feminist movement.* This microfilm copy forms the ly complete file now existing. Librarians and scholars of the riod will therefore be glad to learn that they can now obtain icro-copies of it at the Society.

The Lily's first editor, Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, in her brief storical account of it for a newspaper, calls it "the first paper blished devoted to the interests of woman, and so far as I know, e first one owned, edited and published by a woman."† Its riginal masthead dubbed it "A Monthly Journal, Devoted to mperance and Literature," and it remained in part a temper-ce champion to the end, but its broadening scope of subject atter was asserted in 1852 by the substitution of a new motto: Devoted to the Interests of Woman," and the journal came ore and more to be an advocate of women's rights and other minist causes.

The Lily made its first appearance in Seneca Falls, N.Y., under te of January 1, 1849, as "Published by a Committee of adies." Mrs. Bloomer, the leading spirit of the Committee, was ppointed editor, with Mrs. Anna C. Matteson designated her ssistant. Neither the Committee nor the Assistant Editor, how-ver, showed much enterprise in forwarding the venture. After ne second issue, the associate withdrew and Mrs. Bloomer car-

* Two articles on *The Lily* appeared in The New-York Historical Society *uarterly* for October 1952, pp. 360–75: one, "Amelia Bloomer and Bloomerism" by aul Fatout, Department of English, Purdue University; the other, "The Lily" by . W. G. Vail, Director of The New-York Historical Society, giving a brief descrip-on of *The Lily* and locating the various files, all incomplete, some consisting of but ne or two issues.

† However, *The Pittsburg Saturday Visitor*, an anti-slavery journal which began ublication in 1848, was also owned, edited, and published by a woman.

ried on alone both as editor and publisher, although she was not designated in the magazine as editor until November 1849.

During its early years, *The Lily* devoted considerable space to articles on temperance. Typical titles were: "The Drunkard's Wife," "The Drunkard's Daughter," "Death in the Gutter," "Shun the Wine Cup," and "The Drunkard's Home." The last stanza of a typical temperance poem reads:

> Tell me I HATE the bowl—
> HATE is a feeble word,
> I LOATHE—ABHOR—MY VERY SOUL
> WITH STRONG DISGUST IS STIRR'D—
> Whene'er I see, or hear, or tell,
> Of the dark BEVERAGE OF HELL.

Mrs. Bloomer's next crusade was for reform in women's dress. Fannie Kemble was one of the first to adopt a costume consisting of a "loose flowing dress falling a little below the knees, and loose pantaletts . . . confined to the ancle by a band or cord," as reported in *The Lily* of December 1849. By late spring of 1851, Mrs. Bloomer herself was ready to appear in the new dress which, in *The Lily* of May 1851, she describes in this way:

> Our costume is as yet by no means perfected; there is a lack of harmony in the dress we now wear, which is nothing different from the reigning fashion, except that our skirts have been robbed of about a foot of their former length, and a pair of loose trowses [*sic*] of the same material as the dress, substituted. These latter extend from the waist to the ankle, and may be gathered into a band and buttoned round the ankle, or, what we think prettier, gathered or plaited up about two inches in depth, and left sufficiently wide for the foot to pass through, and allow of their falling over the top of the gaiter. . . . Instead of the whalebone bodice, the dress should be made with a sack front . . . and a tight back with the skirt gathered in as usual.

The September 1851 issue of *The Lily* shows a picture of Mrs. Bloomer in her new dress. The circulation of the magazine was greatly increased through the notoriety given to it by the editor's adoption and defense of the costume. It was thenceforth known as the "Bloomer costume." Newspapers both at home and abroad commented upon it, some denouncing, some ridiculing, some approving. In consequence, subscriptions to *The Lily* multiplied,

t few of its readers had courage enough to adopt the "Bloomer stume" for themselves. However, an adaptation of her costne, under the name of "bloomers," attained considerable pularity among the "bicycle girls" of the 1890s.

Mrs. Bloomer also exerted her editorial influence in favor of ort hair for women. An article by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, nich she ran in the June 1852 issue, concluded: "If all the omen could know the luxury of short hair, there would soon a general leave taking of hair-pins, combs, braids and knots." w ladies abandoned their braids and knots, however.

Commencing in the spring of 1850, articles had begun to pear also on women's legal rights, woman suffrage, equality the sexes, "Colleges for Females," "Oppression and Degradaon of Females," and health and physical education of women. me of these articles were written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, ho was also a resident of Seneca Falls. Mrs. Bloomer comments the flyleaf of her own file of *The Lily:*

izabeth Cady Stanton was a great help to The Lily by her frequent ntributions. She first came before the public as a writer for The Lily. er first contributions were on Temperance, and she wrote over the gnature "Sun Flower." Later on when she ventured on the "Women's ghts" question, she used her own initials, E.C.S.

ther well-known contributors were Frances D. Gage, Susan Anthony and Lucy Stone.

In 1854 Amelia moved *The Lily's* office to Mt. Vernon, Ohio, here her journalist husband, Dexter C. Bloomer, had purchased interest in a paper published there. Of this move, Mrs. Bloomer litorialized in the December 1853 issue as follows: "We feel at it matters little in what part of the vineyard we are placed, we but improve and cultivate to the best of our ability the rt assigned us." *The Lily* continued to prosper in Mt. Vernon, taining a peak circulation of from four to six thousand copies, rge for those days. But all was not roses. In her beforeentioned history of *The Lily*, she relates:

When in Ohio I employed a young lady to set the type on my paper. his caused a strike among the printers in the office, everyone quitting

work and refusing to work with a woman. The papers were thus brought to a stand-still, but I did not yield. Soon other compositors were found and two more girls introduced into the office, and all went on again after a few days of trouble and delay.

The Bloomers moved again early in 1855 to Council Bluffs, Iowa, where Mr. Bloomer set up an office as attorney and land agent. This town was three hundred miles beyond a railroad with no facilities for printing and mailing a paper with so large a circulation as *The Lily*. For that reason the magazine was sold, with much regret on Mrs. Bloomer's part, to Mrs. Mary B. Birdsall of Richmond, Indiana. This sale was announced in the December 15, 1854 issue. Mrs. Bloomer was designated a corresponding editor. Mrs. Birdsall was not another Amelia Bloomer, however. She enjoyed rather delicate health, and now and then was compelled to omit an issue. Mrs. Bloomer's contributions became more and more infrequent. The last issue of *The Lily* appeared in Richmond, Indiana, dated December 15, 1856.

The subscription price of *The Lily* was always fifty cents, even after it became a semi-monthly at the beginning of 1853. It was quarto size except for the year 1853 when it was a small folio of four pages. The issues of all other years had eight pages.

A complete film file of *The Lily*, 1849–1856, has now been assembled and copies of it made available by The New-York Historical Society. The Society microfilmed Mrs. Bloomer's own file of *The Lily*, owned by the New York State Library, for 1849–1854, which for its first three years has notes in her own handwriting, giving authorship of many of the anonymous articles and of those signed with pen names. This file, slightly damaged around the edges, was rescued from the New York Capitol fire of 1911. The Boston Public Library file for 1852 and 1854–1856 was filmed for the Society by Harvard University Library. These two microfilms have been combined into one, covering the period 1849–1856, with the film of the Boston Public Library file for 1852 and 1854 substituted for the damaged Bloomer file of those years. The price of a positive copy of the complete film, consisting of 1,056 pages, is fifteen dollars.

"10 MILES FROM N. YORK"

THE RESURRECTION OF AN OLD MILESTONE FROM THE KINGSBRIDGE ROAD

by RICHARD J. KOKE

Curator of the Museum

IN 1957 an old Manhattan Island milestone, long considered lost, unexpectedly came to light in the cellar of a spacious Georgian home on upper Manhattan Island, and was presented to the Society from the collection of the man who rescued it from oblivion. The story of the sturdy little stones which once lined the country highways of New York City was narrated in the Society's *Quarterly* in 1950.[1] The majority long since were dislodged and cast aside when the old thoroughfares were improved and widened, but a few were saved and may now be seen in museums and public parks. This is the brief later story of the 10th Milestone of the Series of 1813 on the Kingsbridge Road — once the main highway of travel through what is now Washington Heights along the lines of the modern St. Nicholas Avenue and Broadway.

[1] Richard J. Koke, "Milestones Along the Old Highways of New York City," in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, July 1950, 165–234.

"10 Miles from N. York"

The first milestones on Manhattan Island were cut by George Lindsay and were erected in 1769, and the 10th Milestone of that early series stood on the west side of present St. Nicholas Avenue on the south line of West 153d Street. It was still here in 1811,[2] but in 1813 a new series of stones replaced those of 1769 on the Kingsbridge Road with a regauging of distance from the City Hall, and consequently the new 10th Milestone—that which is now preserved—was erected on the west side of Broadway at or near West 170th Street. As years passed, this milestone, like others, was moved and in 1889 it was treasured as a relic of what was already a past era by the author James Monteith who built it into the front porch of his home on St. Nicholas Avenue and 154th Street—barely one block from where the earlier stone of 1769 had stood.[3]

Sometime within the next decade or so, it was moved from the Monteith property, and by the early 1900s had come into the possession of Herman P. Ohm, a policeman who lived in a little frame house at 561 West 169th Street between Broadway and Audubon Avenue, where it was used as the top stone of a flight of cellar stairs.[1] For years thereafter it was shunted around

[2] The location of the 10th Milestone of 1769 was mentioned on March 22, 1811, in the report of the commissioners appointed to lay out the city's new street plan, who stated that the southerly side of 153d Street "touches the southern side of the tenth milestone on the King's Bridge Road at the surface of the earth" (W. Bridges, *Map of the City of New-York and Island of Manhattan with Explanatory Remarks and References* [New York, 1811], 35–36). See also a precise note regarding its location in John Randel's reminiscences in *Manual of the Common Council of the City of New York* [*Valentine's Manual*], 1864, 854. It also appears on the Bridges' *Map of the City of New-York and Island of Manhattan as Laid out by by Commissioners appointed by the Legislature, April 3, 1807*, and published in 1811.

[3] M. J. Lamb, "Historic Homes and Landmarks: Their Significance and Present Condition," in *Magazine of American History*, XXI (1889), 5.

[1] Ohm was appointed to the police force in 1876 and was listed at 561 West 169th Street in the New York directories of 1891–1904. His ownership of the stone was recorded by Reginald Pelham Bolton on a manuscript card on "Old Milestones" in his card catalogue on Washington Heights history owned by the Society, which he based on an article in the *Harlem Local Reporter*, July 2, 1904. The address of Ohm's house is sometimes erroneously cited as 561 West 168th Street. In connection with Ohm's preservation of the stone, it may be well to note that the 9th Milestone of the Series of 1769, likewise, was preserved through the interest of a Washington Heights police officer, Chief Inspector Henry V. Steers of Police Headquarters, once commander of the precinct station on Amsterdam Avenue at 152d Street, who removed

e premises. In April 1906 it lay in the rear garden, later was oved to the front yard, and in February 1922, when the site as menaced by building operations, it lay neglected in the oryard. The threatened obliteration of the stone prompted eginald Pelham Bolton, the noted Washington Heights hisrian, to rescue it from its precarious situation, and it was his tent to preserve it until arrangements could be made for its rmanent replacement in a suitable location.[5] However, nothing as done. In 1942 Mr. Bolton died, and subsequent inquiry iled to reveal anything of what had become of the stone, and was presumed that sometime during the years after 1922 it d been irretrievably lost.

In 1957 an examination of the Bolton Papers owned by the ociety disclosed an unpublished manuscript in which Mr. Bolon made mention that when the milestone was uprooted from 9th Street it was brought to the Roger Morris House on dgecombe Avenue and 160th Street, which was owned by the ity of New York and opened as a museum under the auspices the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Washingn Headquarters Association.[6] Though thirty-five years had assed since its removal, this sole clue spurred an investigation ascertain whether the stone was still at the Morris House. The rst results were discouraging, for there was no knowledge of e stone at the mansion, nor—as the stone had been Mr. Bolton's ersonal property—any mention of it in the records of the Vashington Headquarters Association. The trail had come to nother blind end, but, not willing to overlook any possibility, liss Gladys Voorhees Clark, chairman of relics for the Associa-

e neglected 9th Milestone from the premises of the police station to the front rden of his home at 473 West 152d Street between St. Nicholas and Amsterdam venues, where Steers was listed in the directories of 1889–1900, and where the stone ay still be seen.

[5] Twenty-Seventh *Annual Report*, American Scenic and Historic Preservation ciety, 1921–22, 126; R. J. Koke, *op. cit.*, 222–223.

[6] R. P. Bolton, *Forgotten Things and Places in the City of New York*, 111. Typeritten manuscript in the Bolton Papers, presented to the Society in 1947 by his ughter, Sister Mercedes, C.S.M. (Ivy May Bolton).

tion, and Count Henry Harrison de Frise, curator of the mansion, graciously investigated the contents in storage, and within a dark corner of the deep kitchen fireplace in the low-ceilinged cellar a dusty sandstone block was revealed beneath an accumulation of wood. The stone bore on its face the inscription: "10 Miles from N. York." It probably still lay in the very spot where it had been placed by Mr. Bolton and, after his death, forgotten.

In October it was presented to the Society by the ladies of the Washington Headquarters Association as part of the Reginald Pelham Bolton Collection. The height of the stone is 41 ½ inches; its width, 12 inches; its thickness, 5 inches; and its weight, 205 pounds. The stone itself and the inscription on its surface is identical with the 11th and 12th Milestones of the Series of 1813 which are preserved in Roger Morris Park and in Isham Park. Its acquisition is welcome, indeed, and it brings to ten the number of known Manhattan Island milestones in existence today.

A New York Milestone-Cutter Is Identified

The reappearance of the 10th Milestone coincides with a few interesting notes which have turned up relating to the identity of the stonecutter who cut the 15th Milestone which originally stood on the Albany Post Road in the Borough of the Bronx and is now preserved in Van Cortlandt Park. The 15th Milestone is the only milestone in New York City preserved in recent years which had the stonecutter's name chiseled on its face. The name was still to be seen in the early years of the present century, but part of the face has since flaked and with it the man's name. Old listings of the milestone inscription identified him as "John Zunicher," and as such he was so identified in our 1950 *Quarterly*, but an examination of the 18th-century records of the Common Council of the City of New York definitely identify him as John Zuricher, and frequent mention is made of him in the Council minutes from the 1750s into the 1770s under the various names of Suriker, Zeriche, Zericher, Zuricker, Zurreckar, and Zur-

cker. He may have been of German or mid-European origin, r he was listed as "Johannes Zurreckar" in October 1765 when was sworn in as a freeman of the city. In 1768 he was apinted a fireman in the West Ward, and other accounts mention s petition for a water lot in the Hudson River fronting on veral lots which he and Elizabeth Lane held in the same ward. The first mention of him in the minutes was in March 1754 hen he was paid for work done by him on the new Royal Exange in Broad Street. In 1762 he was paid for cutting twelve rnices and five arches for the City Hall. On December 17, 74, the Council paid him £6 : 3 : ½ for what is described as "land mark Stones &c," and other accounts mention payment him for various jobs and for loads of stone.[7] Happily, he was craftsman who liked to sign his work. The 15th Milestone, elf, is evidence of this, and his name recently has been also und on a couple of tombstones dating from 1776 in the cemery of the Clarkstown Dutch Reformed Church on the Geronds Road in New York's Rockland County. Many of the vilian inhabitants of New York fled from the city in the spring d summer of 1776 to avoid the disagreeable consequences of ilitary conflict when the American and British armies fought r control of the Hudson, and Zuricher may have been among e many who found their way to the country districts west of e river. One of these tombstones marks the burial place of izabeth Winter, who died in November 1776, and the other at of Effe Williams, who passed away in December. On both ones he chiseled the name "John Zuricher, Stone Cutter" beath a legend sometimes found graven on 18th-century burial ones:

Behold and see as you Pass by
As you are Now so once was I.
As I am now you soon will Be
Prepair For Death and Follow Me.

[7] *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675–1776*, V (New rk, 1905), 443; VI (1905), 2, 103, 217, 313, 411, 421, 426, 436, 437; VII (1905), 100, , 257; VIII (1905), 69.

THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE (1757–1834)

By Francesco Giuseppe Casanova (1727–1802)

Gift of Mr. Forsyth Wickes, 1939

THE SOCIETY'S CELEBRATION OF THE BICENTENNIAL OF LAFAYETTE'S BIRTH

by Susan D. McMahon

Supervisor of Public Relations

HISTORY repeated itself on October 30, 1957, when Lafayette's great-great-grandson was made an honorary mber of The New-York Historical Society. The certificate of mbership was presented to René Comte de Chambrun by sident LeRoy E. Kimball at the monthly members' meeting. The principal speaker on this occasion was Dr. Grayson Kirk, sident of Columbia University. His address, which provided tting background commentary for our special exhibition of afayette and The New-York Historical Society," heads this ıe of the *Quarterly*. Appropriately, Dr. Kirk was introduced Mr. Forsyth Wickes, "honored Trustee, Vice-President of Society, and Chairman of our Lafayette Bicentennial Comttee," of whom Dr. Kimball remarked:

Mr. Wickes . . . is the donor of our most prized Lafayette possession, full-length contemporary military portrait in oils of the General by ncesco Casanova, the 18th-century painter to the King of France. Mr. ckes, whose generosities to the Society are many, has practiced law in w York City for 57 years, is a foremost supporter of things American l French, showing no partiality with homes in both America and nce, is a Commander of the French Legion of Honor, chairman of the ards of trustees of the French Lycée and the French Institute of New rk City, and the recipient of the Distinguished Service Medal in World ar I, following his service as a major of the United States Army atched to a French command.

In his introduction of Dr. Kirk, Mr. Wickes said:

the two oldest educational institutions in the City of New York are lumbia University, born King's College in the middle of the 18th cenry, and The New-York Historical Society, born on the threshold of the th century. These institutions have frequently been associated in cul-

tural endeavors and what is more logical than that the President of Columbia University of today should be your orator of this evening and speak to you of Lafayette, that Frenchman who was a friend of the American colonies in the days of their youth when they needed a friend. The President is a great scholar and a distinguished leader in the field of higher education throughout these United States. He has other attributes which particularly qualify him for his task of this evening. He has always been a friend of France and the French people and an admirer of those famous Frenchmen who for many centuries have been the leaders throughout the world in the fields of science, the fine arts, education, literature and broad-minded, clear and courageous thinking. The President has another attribute which is greater than all those I have mentioned. He is a charming gentleman. . . .

Comte de Chambrun was honored as was his famed ancestor more than one hundred and thirty-three years ago while making a triumphal tour of the United States in 1824–1825. The Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834), who had risked his life and personal fortune at the age of 19 to assist the rebelling colonists, captured the imagination of Americans and was given a warm welcome during his visit. The General was made a member of this Society August 18, 1824, according to the minute book.

A resident of Paris, the Comte told the members that the original Lafayette material he brought with him to the United States had been found only recently among the Marquis' personal papers at La Grange, the family château, some thirty miles east of Paris. De Chambrun plans to establish a Lafayette museum there.

Among these papers is the original diploma of membership presented to the French hero of the Revolution by The New-York Historical Society. The diploma and notes of Lafayette's acceptance speech, believed to be the second the General made during his tour of the United States, were lent to the Society for the balance of the year. These documents were placed on exhibition with other Lafayette memorabilia commemorating the bicentennial of Lafayette's birth.

Much manuscript material has been discovered by the Comte in Lafayette's personal apartments locked by immediate descend-

DR. KIRK, MR. WICKES, COMTE DE CHAMBRUN, DR. KIMBALL

On stage in the Auditorium on the evening of October 30, 1957

ts because the family (Ayen-Noailles) had suffered much in
e French Revolution, which Lafayette supported. These pri-
te rooms, located in a tower at La Grange, were not electrified
included in the central heating when the château was modern-
d in the early part of this century. The excellent condition of
e papers, including private and business letters and other docu-
nts, has been attributed to this fact.

De Chambrun is an honorary United States citizen, as his illus-
ous great-great-grandparent and all his male descendants in
rpetuity were naturalized in 1784 by law of the General
sembly of Maryland.

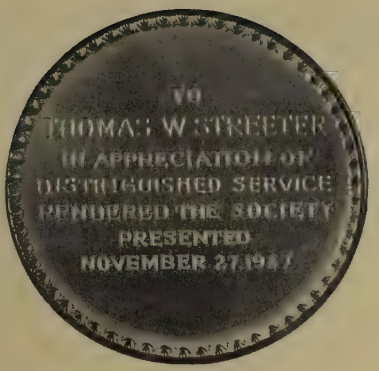
Philippe Comte de Lafayette, another great-great-grandson of
e Marquis, was also made an honorary member of the Society
the meeting of the Board of Trustees on October 23, 1957.
uring that ceremony Dr. Kimball read the words of Lafayette

written in 1824 when he accepted membership in the Society.

The remarks have contemporary significance, especially the following: "[Despite] combinations made elsewhere by despotism and aristocracy against those sacred rights of mankind, immense majorities in other countries shall not in vain observe the happiness and prosperity of a free, virtuous and enlightened people."

PHILIPPE COMTE DE LAFAYETTE WITH DR. LEROY E. KIMBALL

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees, October 23, 1957, for the presentation of a certificate of honorary membership in the Society to this great-great-grandson of the Marquis de Lafayette



THE TREASURER
R. THOMAS W. STREETER, RECEIVES THE OLD MEDAL FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE

Presentation Address by LeRoy E. Kimball, *President*
At a reception in the Board Room, November 27, 1957

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-THREE years ago last Wednesday, November 20th, The New-York Historical ciety was organized. The officers and trustees were men of ion who, together with their successors, unselfishly labored procure and preserve things historical.

On occasions halts have been made, and stock taken, especially the human assets of the Society. Today is one of those occa-ns. One might say on our "near 153d birthday" we are stop-ng the busy whirl to pay high tribute to a trustee and officer no has for ten years most successfully carried the important sponsibilities of the treasurership, and we hope, God willing, at he will continue this good work for another decade. Dr. homas W. Streeter continues to have a long and brilliant career finance, scholarship, the law, administration, and related lds, in all of which he has performed in his characteristically ficient and meticulous manner to the benefit of everything he uches.

DR. AND MRS. THOMAS W. STREETER WITH THEIR GRANDCHILDREN

Son of St. Paul's School, Dartmouth College, and Harvard w School, he early demonstrated his skill in finance and law. long list of important positions in banking and commerce tify to this skill, and coupled with it has gone a stirring interest history and bibliography and the collecting of important rare oks. These activities have brought him numerous honors in se fields and among his scholarly recognitions have been the sidencies of the time-honored American Antiquarian Society d the Bibliographical Society of America. His recent *Bibliography of Texas to 1845* in four volumes is a monument which ll not be superseded for decades to come, if ever.

In honoring the twenty-first treasurer of The New-York istorical Society it is interesting to note that among his predessors was the founder of the Society—John Pintard, who was e second treasurer, serving for eight years. Mr. Pintard also d the financial welfare of the Society very much on his conence, through those difficult *early* years.

The Society's Gold Medal for Distinguished Service has been eviously awarded only four times since its establishment. The cipients have been John Abeel Weekes, president for twenty- years (1913-1939), Samuel Verplanck Hoffman, president r nine years (1903-1912), George A. Zabriskie, treasurer for n years (1929-1939) and president for eight years (1939-947), and Dr. Fenwick Beekman, president for nine years 947-1956).

We have done a bit of research covering the years of Dr. reeter's treasurership and find that the market value of our vestments almost doubled during nine years of his stewardship: om $4,975,190.68 to $9,099,367.35, and also that when he took e portfolio the market value of our investments was more than 73,000 under their original cost.

It is a great pleasure and a privilege to carry out the instructions the Board of Trustees of The New-York Historical Society awarding the Gold Medal to Dr. Thomas W. Streeter which ads: "In Appreciation of Distinguished Service Rendered the ciety."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A Short History of New York State. By David M. Ellis, James A. Frost, Harold C. Syrett, and Harry J. Carman. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Published in cooperation with the New York State Historical Association by Cornell University Press, 1957. xiii + 705 pages, biblio. note, illus., index. $7.75.)

Reviewed by Professor O. T. Barck, Jr., *Chairman, Department of History, Syracuse University*.

The long-awaited *Short History of the State of New York* has finally appeared after many trials and tribulations. The difficulties which Louis C. Jones, Director of the New York State Historical Association, and Mary E. Cunningham, the Associate Director, faced in supervising the birth and maturity of the manuscript have been enormous. To them goes the major credit for the publication of this volume. Incidentally, the foreword by Mr. Jones is an excellently written survey of the text, and indeed is clearer than some parts of the main volume.

Attempting to survey the long, intricate, and complicated story of the Empire State from the time when only Indians and wild life roamed the wilderness to the present day in some 650 pages is indeed an optimistic endeavor. Under the circumstances, much information and numerous important events have had to be glossed over or omitted entirely; yet the general development of Colony and State is usually well treated.

This work, described as written for the general reader as well as for the teacher and student of New York history, is divided into two books. Dealing with the story through the Civil War, Book One has three major topics: "Colonial New York," the "Rise of the Empire State," and "New York in the National Period." Within each subdivision, the political, economic, and cultural phases of Yorker life are depicted. The second half concerns the ninety years since the conclusion of the Civil War; its three divisions are entitled: "Politics from the Gilded Age to the Present," "Economic Development of the Empire State," and "Culture in an Industrial Age."

Of the two parts, the second is much better written and the material is much better digested. The account of New York politics, especially at the State level, is clear and succinct. The reader will get an excellent picture of the partisan struggles, the machine battles, and the contributions of the numerous governors without being overburdened with unnecessary detail. The various segments of post-Civil War economic development, dealing with such items as the changing population, agriculture, industry, labor, transportation, and the role of the State in world economics, are treated in lucid and effective fashion. The series of charts and

bles are enlightening additions to the textual material. The final division, scribing the cultural growth of New York, with its center in New rk City, is a survey which deals competently with education, the ss, the arts, and numerous other aspects of this phase of New York life. l in all, Professors Carman and Syrett have done themselves proud in esenting this period of State history. It will appeal to both the general der and the student.

On the other hand, the first half leaves much to be desired. The reader ll have considerable difficulty in understanding the story of the lians. Even more undigested is the account of New Netherland and the ly colony of New York. The role of bouweries is inadequately ex- ined, as are also the accounts of why the English sought to seize the tch holdings and of Leisler's rebellion. The reasons for the failure of troonships leave the reader at sea. Many better résumés of the part the lony and State played in the Revolution are available, both for the neral reader and the student of history. The social aspects of the Revo- ion in New York are much more important than this survey indicates. here is an unevenness in this part of the work, for the chapters on social l cultural life are much better done than those dealing with economic pects.

In similar fashion, the second part of the book is remarkably free from rors of fact and interpretation, but not so the first. Just a few of the rors in the first part are: Henry Hudson was originally sent out to find northeast passage (p. 19); the Dutch legislature is properly the States- neral (p. 19); Charles II did not take New Jersey away from the Duke York (p. 31); and the elder Howe brother is designated as Sir Richard owe instead of Lord Howe (p. 108).

Nevertheless, the volume as a whole is a contribution to State history. he reviewer has wondered for many years why New York State has not d a one-volume account of its long and important history for the neral reader. This will fill the gap for the time being.

e Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce 1647–1877. By Philip L. White, with a Foreword by Dr. Fenwick Beekman. (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1956. xxxi + 705 pages, illus., appendix, biblio., index. $10.00.)

e Beekman Mercantile Papers 1746–1799. Transcribed and edited by Philip L. White. 3 vols. (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1956. vii + 1485 pages, appendices, index. $25.00.)

Reviewed by Joe B. Frantz, *Department of History, University of Texas.*

These four volumes constitute a short course (not too short, at that) in nerican colonial history in its several facets—social, political, personal,

and mercantile. Professor White has turned out more than two thousand careful, fact-laden pages that will be investigated by scholars, genealogists, and other variants of the breed so long as history is studied. In an academic sense he has assured his immortality by inclusiveness alone.

Once again the Beekmans disprove the charge that important American families last three generations only—the first to rise, the second to maintain, and the third to plummet. The Beekmans were people of substance, as White says, "from the time of Peter Stuyvesant until the era of the Tweed Ring." They still are, but the study comes only through the career of James Beekman, whose activities as philanthropist, public official, and, incidentally, officer of The New-York Historical Society, closed on June 15, 1877.

Altogether, about five score Beekmans are mentioned in more or less detail in the book. Primarily, however, Professor White concentrates on eight of them, starting with the 17th-century administrator, William, a political leader under both Dutch and English rule and, more particularly, a fighter for self-government in what was to become the New World's greatest city.

The next Beekman, a son but for long a contemporary of William, is Henry. Remarkable for his contradictions, he managed to be both honest and sharp personally, repressive and progressive politically, and stiff and flexible socially. As a generality he seems to have believed in moderation, which probably means he suffered the difficulties of moderates in all ages, flirting with both sides, belonging to neither, and getting criticized by each.

Henry had a younger brother, Gerardus, whose political and social liberality was more clear-cut. His nephew, Henry Jr., serving the New York Assembly for a third of a century, resembled Gerardus in his lifelong devotion to the advancement of liberty. By the time of his death, Lexington and Concord were recent history, and a democratic experience of major proportions was under way.

Following Henry Beekman II, the scene shifts from political activity to a world that is mainly mercantile. The earlier Beekmans had invariably done well; now in the latter half of the 18th century the world of commerce became their principal concern. In some ways the activities of Gerard G. (1719–1797), Dr. William (1684–1770), and James (1732–1807) were typical of the successful sedentary merchants of their era. Professor White believes, however, that specialization of function, as practiced by the Beekmans, was much farther advanced in New York than among such businessmen as the Hancocks and Browns of New England.

Also, the Beekmans tended to demand and receive a greater proportion of their payments in specie than could the Massachusetts and Rhode Island merchants. The presence of a rich agricultural hinterland which

uld sell in quantity for cash in the Caribbean area, and the concentra-n of military expenditures in the New York region account for this ference, suggests White.

On the whole, the work is not heavy on interpretation. Rather, Pro-ssor White has given us a massive exposition of facts in an effective le that will make the books extremely useful. Although in a sense thorized, the books are absolutely free from family back-patting. It is honest monument which has here been erected to the Beekman family, de-ranging in its scholarship and solid in its quietly dispassionate proach.*

exander Hamilton: Youth to Maturity, 1755–1788. By BROADUS MITCHELL. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. xvi + 675 pages, biblio., index. $8.75.)

Reviewed by HAROLD LARSON, *Arlington, Va.*

In this first instalment of a two-volume biography, Professor Broadus tchell tells Hamilton's story from his birth in the West Indies and early ars in America through the Revolutionary War to the ratification by ew York of the Federal Constitution. Its central figure is a complex and ntroversial character who in a few crowded years did much to pro-ote a strong, centralized government and a sound fiscal system in his opted country.

With admirable industry the author has left no stone unturned in his search. He has visited the boyhood scenes of his hero and painted vivid ord-pictures of solid stone structures and lush tropical vegetation. He s also drawn heavily from the findings of the late Maj. Gen. H. U. msing, but, unlike others, Mitchell has given the General full credit. is last particularly impressed the reviewer who, quite by chance over enty years ago, learned of Ramsing's patient digging into Danish West dian records and persuaded him to publish the results of his research on amilton's family background and early years in St. Croix.

Despite the meticulous scholarship and the obvious effort to achieve adability, this book may disturb the average reader because of the ny details and the formidable documentation. The copious notes—ne 180 pages—should delight the specialist but at times may bring zzlement when checked. Mr. Mitchell describes (p. 6) the sorry John

* For the best extended evaluation of these volumes, see the eleven-page review icle: "The Beekmans of New York: Trade, Politics, and Families," by Bernard lyn of the Harvard University Department of History, in *William and Mary arterly*, October 1957, 598–608. Among others, well-informed reviews will be nd in: *American Historical Review*, October 1957; *Mississippi Valley Historical view*, June 1957; the Harvard University *Business History Review*, Spring 1957; *w York History*, July 1957; *Journal of Southern History*, May 1957; and *Pennsyl-ia Magazine of History and Biography*, April 1957.

Michael Lavien, whose first wife was Hamilton's mother, as "probably German-Jewish," but the corresponding footnote 35 (p. 472) offers no convincing evidence and this reviewer has seen none elsewhere. And following a paragraph on Hamilton's Caribbean background (pp. 35–36), footnote 45 (p. 490) furnishes the none-too-pertinent information in time or place that Albert Gallatin and Alexander J. Dallas were also of foreign birth.

Footnote 44 (p. 473) hardly does justice to former Governor Lawrence W. Cramer and James A. Bough of the Virgin Islands. Cramer took a direct hand in effecting the transfer of the old Danish records to the U. S. National Archives where the author used them. Bough did not discover the volume in question as Mr. Mitchell mistakenly asserts, but he did find in it the summons in Lavien's suit for divorce from his first wife. The apparent discrepancy in the description of this volume stems from Ramsing's use of the reference given in the summons itself, of which a copy was furnished to him by this reviewer.

Especially annoying are the many interpretations, assumptions, and digressions throughout the text. In the Foreword, after terming such speculation idle, the author nonetheless concludes that Hamilton, if returned to the American scene, "might now be called not a conservative, but a liberal." To this, some may take violent exception. Indeed, it might be argued that ideologically Hamilton belonged among the Loyalists, but driven by his "prevalent" ambition took the calculated risk of joining the Patriots.

The tale (p. 34) of the fund raised to send young Hamilton to America would be more impressive if backed by evidence such as that on the settlement of his debts which Josephine Mayer and Robert A. East published in *New York History* (Vol. 18, pp. 378–85) in 1937. While the author rails against Congress (p. 148), he should recall that Washington's men at Valley Forge suffered in part because of poor roads and an inadequate supply system and in part because the neighboring American farmers preferred to sell their produce in Philadelphia for British gold. Lastly, on too many pages of this volume Hamilton disappears while other subjects draw the spotlight.

Like Hamilton, Professor Mitchell takes a dim view of the Articles of Confederation, which is not wholly justified. In making his hero preëminently a national figure, which was hardly true before 1789, the author tends to slight his activity in New York State and local politics. As if to reflect the Hamiltonian line, he shows scant sympathy for Governor George Clinton. Hamilton, to be sure, called Clinton "a demagogue" while Mitchell more charitably has him "only verging upon the demagogue."

This may not become the "standard biography" heralded by the publisher, but it is a very useful, superior, and worthwhile work that all Hamilton scholars should consult. Minor errors such as St. Vincents for

Vincent are few. The reviewer looks forward to the final volume mised in 1958.

volution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals, 1776–1784, of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces. Translated nd annotated by BERNHARD A. UHLENDORF (New Brunswick: Rutgers Jniversity Press, 1957. xiv + 640 pages, index. $9.00.)

Reviewed by WILLIAM M. DABNEY, *University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.*

Major Carl Leopold Baurmeister served on the staff of the three succes- e commanders-in-chief of the Hessian forces supporting the royal ops in North America from 1776 to 1783. The letters which he wrote Baron von Jungkenn, Minister of State of Hesse-Cassel, are housed in e Clements Library at the University of Michigan and have been nslated and edited in this volume by Professor Uhlendorf.

This is a valuable source volume on the war for American Independ- ce in that the letters cover all the years of the war from the beginning the German participation, in that Baurmeister was at headquarters and is usually knew what was going on, and in that his absence of ties of triotism to either Great Britain or the United States gave his letters an usual objectivity. The historian appreciates the care and thoroughness th which the editor identifies the scores of personal names and place nes mentioned by Baurmeister.

A valuable introductory essay by Professor Uhlendorf surveys the rman contributions to the war. The important terms of the treaties tween Britain and the various German principalities are given. The tor makes it clear that the Hessians were by no means the only signifi- nt auxiliary troops involved, though they were the most numerous, d he remarks on the common error of calling all the Germans "Hes- ns." It is surprising, therefore, that he perpetuates the error by entitling s introductory chapter "The Hessians and the Revolution."

What the publishers have described on the dust jacket as "a virtually ntinuous narrative of America's War for Independence" is of uneven iability. Whenever Baurmeister commented on events on which he d firsthand knowledge, his reports are trustworthy. At times, however, discussion of developments was based on hearsay; and on those casions he made errors, some of which were subsequently corrected. e was a professional soldier, writing to a professional soldier whom he ew personally; as a consequence, his astute observations must have en valuable to the Hessian court.

The layman will find this volume interesting. The professional historian ll value this translation of the Baurmeister letters, but he will probably t find reason to change his ideas about the course of the war.

Joseph Reed: A Moderate in the American Revolution. By JOHN F. ROCHE. (New York: Columbia University Press [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 595], 1957. xi + 298 pages, biblio., index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by RICHARD J. KOKE.

John Roche's study of the life of the Pennsylvania lawyer-politician, Joseph Reed, is a fine and sober biography which examines the career of a man whose solid contributions to the politics of his adopted State during the era of the American Revolution have been largely overlooked because of his unfortunate involvement in a controversy relating to his military record in the war. With only one major exception—a life of Reed published by his grandson in 1847—all of the works on Reed have been prolongations of his controversy with General John Cadwallader, and the bitterness of these writings has done much to obscure Reed's services to the Revolution and has undoubtedly confused and repelled would-be investigators of his career.

Roche explains that Reed's career illustrates the critical problem of the moderate man caught in the turbulence of revolution. For many Americans the separation from Great Britain worked no violent wrenching of treasured ties, but for some, such as Reed, America's union with the Mother Country was a deeply treasured one, for he had studied law in England, had married an English girl, and had seriously contemplated taking up permanent residence in England.

Born in Trenton in 1741 and a graduate of the nearby College of New Jersey, Reed prepared himself for a career at law and was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1763. Supplementing his American education by a two-year sojourn in London in the Middle Temple, Reed then resumed the practice of law in his native province, and added to his youthful prestige in 1767 when he secured the position of Deputy Secretary of New Jersey. He again visited Britain in 1770 in order to marry the daughter of the Massachusetts agent in England, and at that time he hoped to settle there and enter the English legal field. However, the death of Reed's father-in-law caused an unexpected reversal of his plans, and he returned to America with his wife and mother-in-law, established himself as a lawyer in Philadelphia, achieved moderate wealth and acclaim, invested in real estate, and assumed positions of responsibility in his community.

By the eve of the American Revolution he was a prominent Philadelphian from whom much could be expected in the struggle then shaping up between the Mother Country and her American colonies. Reed corresponded with Lord Dartmouth on Colonial affairs and he called upon his English friends to acknowledge the just claim of the colonists but he also counseled moderation and patience for his fellow Americans. He associated freely with the delegates who attended the first Continental Congress in 1774. In November of that same year he was elected a mem-

of the Philadelphia committee to carry out the non-importation eement of Congress; in January 1775 he served as President of the ond Provincial Convention; and after the outbreak of war in Massa- lisetts he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the second battalion of ladelphia militia.

Throughout his public career Reed's services were continually sought h by the Continental military authorities and by the civil authority of nsylvania. When Washington was elected Commander-in-Chief of Continental Army Reed was appointed his military secretary in July 5, and as such he served at Cambridge and became the favorite aide l intimate friend of Washington. He filled this position for ten months ntil May 1776, but in October 1775 he returned to Philadelphia to end to necessary public duties, and for the remainder of his tenure his e was that of an absentee secretary. Washington sorely missed him l begged his return, but Reed was enmeshed in Pennsylvania politics. January 1776 he was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly; in June he s made Adjutant-General of the Continental Army—a post which he d until January 1777—and he served at New York, Trenton, Brandy- ne, Germantown, and Monmouth, continually making his way back l forth between the camp and the Assembly chambers during this riod.

In 1777 he was offered command of the Continental cavalry and was pointed Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, but he declined both offices. ter that year he was elected to the Continental Congress, and in 1778 s chosen President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsyl- nia, on which he served until 1781 when he resumed his practice of law. 1782 his military record was publicly assailed in the *Independent rzetteer* by a writer who signed himself "Brutus," and Reed suspected neral John Cadwallader of its authorship. The quarrel between the o men raged during most of Reed's remaining life. In 1784 he vaca- ned in England, but in the following year he died at the age of forty- ee and was buried in Philadelphia.

The author points out that, despite the clouding of his career by the eat controversy which marked its close, Reed's contributions to the nerican cause entitle him to high rank among the patriots of this era. ne charges which Reed's public career engendered cannot obscure his votion to the cause which he embraced, however slowly. Although, e others, he was reluctant to accept the break with Britain, he became standard bearer of the democratic forces in Pennsylvania which ected sweeping internal changes.

He gave invaluable service as Washington's secretary and confidant; as ljutant-General he lifted many administrative burdens from the Com- nder-in-Chief; and in the field he displayed a skill and dash which, had accepted the post of commander of the American cavalry, might have ought him fame as a soldier-hero. In Congress his orderly mind and

capacity for work made him a valued member of numerous committees, and, as chairman of the committee on the reorganization of the army, he combined legal, legislative, and military experience to achieve reforms which won Washington's gratitude. As President of Pennsylvania, Reed again essayed the role of mediator, and he used his influence during a period of financial chaos, profiteering, and war-weariness to seek a moderate program upon which he hoped factions might combine harmoniously. Driven at times by the recalcitrance of those who opposed the Pennsylvania Constitution almost to the point of becoming a partisan himself, Reed nevertheless resisted complete conversion to radicalism. The moderate influence he exerted in Pennsylvania did much to prevent an even more divisive convulsion.

This biography is well written and documented, the salient points of issue are presented with clarity and insight, and it should do much for the re-evaluation of a man who the author believes deserves the title of patriot.

Rebels and Redcoats. By George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin. (Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Company, 1957. 572 pages, biblio., index. $7.50.)

Reviewed by Richard J. Koke.

With the approaching centennial of the Civil War only a few years distant, there is no abatement of the tremendous flow of fine literature on virtually every phase of that struggle and on its participants. The American Revolution, by comparison, has been so woefully neglected as to be aptly termed a forgotten war. Interesting volumes have appeared from time to time on certain events or personages of that conflict, but historians of the Revolution have too often been content to duplicate each other's efforts by writing standard one- and two-volume chronicles of that struggle from Lexington to Yorktown.

Rebels and Redcoats is another retelling of this familiar military story. The authors cite copiously from contemporary letters, diaries, journals, newspapers, and personal reminiscences, and in so doing have succeeded in giving a vivid sense of immediacy and reality to their story. But the story is not new. The ground has been gone over many times before. Nevertheless, Mr. Scheer and Mr. Rankin make skillful use of the actual wordage of the participants—generals, politicians, and common soldiers, alike—to present a "living story" of the conflict. They write with spirit and gusto, have a good sense of organization, and have produced a fascinating volume which is hard to lay aside. The chapter headings, taken from diaries and letters of the time, give impact to the events described, and the interesting maps of the battles and areas of conflict depict the movements of troops with simple effectiveness.

Legend of the Founding Fathers. By Wesley Frank Craven. New York: New York University Press, 1956. [v] + 191 pages, index. 4.50.)

Reviewed by Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., *Associate Editor, The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Yale University Library.*

ne of the most important respects in which the history of the United es differs from that of European countries is that its citizens have all n immigrants or descendants of immigrants. And the historiography ne United States differs from that of other lands because American ory has all happened within the past three or four hundred years. As ult Americans, in the seventeenth century, even began to ask them- es, "Why came we here?" and by the middle of the eighteenth cen- they were formulating an answer that in general they have been ng ever since.

was that Americans had come to the Western Hemisphere for free- 's sake. New Englanders were the first to examine their history, to ne what was common and unique in their communities. Their minis- did it in election sermons, their scholars in published histories; while ic anniversaries—the first centennial celebration was at Salem in 1729 ovided point and a large audience. By 1765, Mr. Craven points out, popular conception had been shaped, that the first founders had en- d freedom, that their charters only recognized this fact, that the sh government was attempting to take away what it had never con- ed. Plymouth Rock was a symbol before 1774. Thus, as the author vs in an interesting chapter, the Americans' understanding of their ory did not simply strengthen, it actually provided a basis for, the lutionary argument for independence.

What had been a New England view of New England's history was in accepted as the national view, perfectly expressed in Bancroft's *ory*. The Americans were a nation of men of faith and courage, of who were free and tolerant. That picture's appeal was irresistible, in scores of ways on hundreds of occasions it was presented to the ic. Not that the view was espoused everywhere without reservation: Virginians, for example, had had to admit the first founders of their monwealth had come for money, and Virginians were attracted by radition of a community settled by cavaliers. In time, of course, some ginians would make much of the democracy represented by the se of Burgesses of 1619; but in general those who warmed to the lier tradition could not whole-heartedly embrace the national tradi- as Bancroft and most of his contemporaries expressed it.

was to be expected that those who stood directly in the English, rian, Calvinist tradition should accept the American tradition of croft and his contemporaries. What is especially significant, as Mr. ven shows in these lectures, is that Americans of almost all kinds

accepted it too. For one of the requirements for being an American was to show that one belonged to someone or some place or some group that was a champion of liberty early and late. Mecklenburg County in North Carolina might be on the fringe of the great world, but its citizens claimed their ancestors had declared for independence long before the gentlemen in Philadelphia did so in 1776. If one could not deny his descent from an indentured servant, then, at least, that ancestor must have been one of Cromwell's veterans, exiled because he had fought against a tyrant king. And Haym Salomon, Crispus Attucks, von Steuben, Pulaski and even Christopher Columbus performed their greatest services to the United States by providing their European fellow-countrymen and co-religionists with a handle by which to grasp firmly the American tradition of liberty.

These are some of the fascinating ideas which Wesley Frank Craven, professor of history at Princeton, brings forth in his 1955 Anson G. Phelps lectures on early American history at New York University. Commenting on "the common inclination of the American people to look back on the origins of their country for an explanation of its essential character," these lectures are an important contribution to the growing literature of popular culture and of the national spirit in America. It is a book that should lead others into this field of study.

William T. Porter and the Spirit of the Times: A Study of the Big Bear School of Humor. By NORRIS W. YATES. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957. xi + 222 pages, biblio. note, list of "Writers for the Spirit," illus., index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by C. OTTO V. KIENBUSCH.

The kind of humor that we recognize as typically American kept pace with the development of our national culture. It never was born; it just grew. The early stages of this growth are the subject of Norris Yates's book. From the crowded storehouse of humor-in-print he has chosen as his field for research the files of a single periodical, *The Spirit of the Times*, as edited by William T. Porter from 1831 to 1861. "The Tall Son of York" (Porter) announced that this was to be a sporting magazine modeled on Bell's *Life in London*, that it would cover horse racing, boxing, hunting, fishing, etc., and that, besides its paid writers, it would rely for part of its contents on sports-minded amateurs from all over the Union. He would use shears and paste, of course, for legitimate thefts from other publications at home and abroad.

Mr. Yates is interested only in humorous contributions, chiefly from amateurs in the South and West. Serious writers on sports have no place in his book. The most famous of these, Henry W. Herbert (Frank

rester) is barely mentioned, though much of his finest work made its
t appearance in *The Spirit*. Wealthy Southern planters and Army
cers on the Western frontier had plenty of leisure for sports, the
therners for horse racing, the soldiers for hunting and fishing. These
re educated men possessed of considerable literary talent. They seldom
ote about themselves or people of their own class, but about poor
ites, Negroes, pioneers and Indians, and the stories they told were such
one might hear at race tracks from touts and hangers-on, in taverns
n "ring-tailed roarers," Yankee peddlers and local bar flies, on river
mers from pilots and gamblers, and around campfires where squatters
backwoods hunters and fishermen tell tall tales. The amateur con-
utor to *The Spirit* was a patient listener. When a good yarn came his
v he dressed it up, spun it out, and since it was supposed to have been
l him by some shrewd roughneck, put it in the dialect of the class and
ion from which it sprang. The usual pattern for these fantastic stories
uite simple. They begin plausibly with a wealth of realistic detail—
to give the reader the impression that he is on safe ground and can
eve what follows. As the story progresses, unusual situations and hap-
ings develop. These become more and more difficult to swallow until
final climax ends all doubt that the storyteller is a most accomplished
. Baron Munchausen in an American grass-roots setting. The ancestor
oday's shaggy dog.

ome of the outstanding contributions to *The Spirit* were collected by
ter and reprinted in two little books which, over the years, have taken
r place among the rarest sporting Americana—*A Quarter Race in*
ntucky and *The Big Bear of Arkansas* ("That bar was an unhuntable
and he died when his time come").

Ir. Yates quotes freely and at length from *The Spirit* and always his
tations emphasize by their nature the fact that the sort of humor
ter and his associates relied upon was primitive, crude, and broad but
om dull. They took no interest in the wit that lights a smile, the
tle joke that brings a chuckle; what they wanted and generally got
. the preposterous invention that sets off explosions of laughter.

was the beginning of the Civil War that ended Porter's reign. His
er had carefully avoided controversial subjects, especially politics.
en, as a resident New Yorker, he had to take his stand on the North-
side of the Great Division, he lost so many subscribers that he could
carry on. But the spirit of *The Spirit* did not die. From its pages a
succession of humorists drew inspiration. They refined the gold
v minded. Many a tale they tell can be traced to some forgotten story
some forgotten contributor to *The Spirit*. The stories Coulter brought
k from his discovery of the wonders of "Coulter's Hell" (Yellowstone
k) and, at a later date, Mark Twain's delightful ramble through the
icacies of "The Story of the Old Ram" (*Roughing It* (Hartford:

1872), Chapter LII, pp. 383–90) derive their viewpoint, structure, and style from the sort of yarns our ante-bellum forefathers read and loved.

Mr. Yates is to be congratulated on the fruits of many a long hour of critical research. He makes us hear and join in the raucous gaiety of a hundred years ago. Should you feel the nostalgic urge to join the ghost of your sporting great-grandfather for an evening's revel in what made the old gentleman burst his waistcoat buttons, by all means buy this book —you'll have fun!

The Poet of Christmas Eve. A Life of Clement Clarke Moore, 1779–1863. By Samuel White Patterson. (New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1956. xii + 180 pages, illus., biblio., index. $3.85.)

Reviewed by R. W. G. Vail.

As everyone knows, the two great literary works inspired by the spirit of Christmas are Dickens' *Christmas Carol* and Moore's *'Twas the Night before Christmas* but not everyone is aware that the manuscripts of these classics are preserved in the libraries of New York, the former at the Morgan Library and the latter in our own collection, the gift in 1862 of its then venerable author. We also treasure some of Clement C. Moore's earliest and most interesting letters and verses as well as the desk on which it is said he wrote his most famous poem and we are proud that both he and his distinguished father, Bishop Benjamin Moore, were members of our Society, the latter one of our Founders.

When, in 1822, Clement C. Moore wrote his famous poem to bring happiness to the Christmas Eve celebration of his children, he had no idea that these charming and imaginative verses would bring him lasting fame. But then, neither did the shy Oxford don, Charles L. Dodgson, have any idea that the whimsical story he wrote for the little daughter of one of his colleagues would make him famous as the author of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Both of these quiet and studious scholars, who were so reluctant to acknowledge the authorship of their greatest works, expected to be remembered rather for their learned college textbooks which are now all but forgotten.

It is strange that this modest scholar, musician, and philanthropist, Clement C. Moore, had to wait nearly a century for a competent biographer, but it is fortunate that another distinguished alumnus of Columbia, college professor, author and lover of old Chelsea finally gathered together the scattered leaves of the life of his hero and gave us the present charming volume.

Dr. Patterson begins his delightful little biography with a reconstruction of the scene of the writing and first reading of the famous Christmas poem at Moore's home, Chelsea House, followed by the story of its first unauthorized newspaper publication and its subsequent appearance in

k form. He then tells of the author's distinguished ancestry, his under-duate days at Columbia, his home life, and his quiet, studious career. : fascinating chapter is devoted to his love of poetry and music, his :ess as an organist and his sponsorship of that strange character, enzo da Ponte, who had been one of the first to bring grand opera to city and who, with Moore's aid, was the first to teach Italian at umbia.

loore served his alma mater long and faithfully as a trustee but his itest scholarly service to the community was as a professor of Greek, rew and Oriental languages at General Theological Seminary and as donor of the land on which the greater part of that famous seat of gious education was built. His love of the Old Chelsea neighborhood New York's West Side is abundantly evident to the reader of this ume. The old scholar is still remembered by the children for whom he te his poem; each year on Christmas Eve they sing carols at his grave, ibute which he surely would have approved.

he volume contains a bibliography of works by and about Moore, traits of his family, pictures of the homes and public buildings asso-ed with him, a complete facsimile of *'Twas the Night before Christ-*, from the Society's manuscript, and a colored frontispiece, also from collection, of Robert W. Weir's *Santa Claus*, inspired by Moore's m. The volume is fittingly dedicated to the author's brother, Robert Patterson, and to Edmund Astley Prentis who, as a loyal alumnus of umbia, has become warmly attached to the memory of the quiet olar of long ago who loved children and the spirit of Christmas.

en the World Ended: The Diary of Emma Le Conte. Edited by Earl chenck Miers. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. xviii + 24 pages, introd., frontis., index. $4.00.)

de the Confederate Government: The Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean. Edited by Edward Younger. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. xxxvi + 241 pages, introd., frontis., index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by James J. Heslin.

What the "collapse of the Confederacy"—a useful phrase for historians neant in actuality to those who expected victory but instead suffered al defeat appears clearly on the pages of these two previously unpub-ed diaries. These accounts constitute not only a useful addition to the ree material of the Civil War but also provide further evidence, if re evidence is needed, of the bitterness and defiance which character-l the reactions of many Southerners. Despite dissimilarities in age and ition Emma Le Conte and Robert Garlick Hill Kean were alike in ir abiding loyalty to the South throughout the course of the war, and he anguish they felt in the face of Confederate defeat.

Emma Le Conte was seventeen years old when Sherman's army invaded South Carolina and captured the city of Columbia in which she lived. Her diary is brief—dating from December 31, 1864, to August 10, 1865—but in its intensity of feeling and in its reflection of the fervid dedication of this young girl to the Confederacy it is an unusual record. Emma Le Conte's devotion to the South was equalled only by her loathing for the Yankees, a sentiment she expressed in pungent terms. Emma Le Conte hated all Union troops, but she had an especially bitter hatred for Sherman, who had ordered, she believed, the burning of Columbia. Her description of the appearance of Columbia after the fire—the "Abomination of Desolation" as Emma Le Conte referred to it when she walked among the ruins and attempted to identify the location of once-familiar buildings—is truly poignant, and helps to make her attitude toward Sherman and his troops understandable.

The diary continues into the first few months of the reconstruction period, as it affected South Carolina, and particularly Columbia, but to the end Emma Le Conte is unforgiving. One of her last entries is a comment on "those detestable bluecoats" and yet, perhaps as a symbol, the diary ends on a youthful note—preparations for Miss Le Conte's first party.

In contrast to Emma Le Conte, whose experiences and observations were limited to Columbia, Robert Garlick Hill Kean, as Head of the Confederate Bureau of War (one of the divisions of the War Department) from April 1862 until Appomattox, viewed the fortunes of the Confederacy from the seat of the government in Richmond. From this office there was opportunity to observe and chronicle the inside story of the Confederate government. Married to Jane Randolph, daughter of Thomas Jefferson's favorite grandson, and a graduate of the college and law school of the University of Virginia, Kean was a practicing attorney in Lynchburg when the war began. Initially, he served as a private and fought in the First Battle of Manassas, but he was transferred to the War Department in April of 1862 when Brigadier George W. Randolph, his wife's uncle, became Secretary of War. Although his was an administrative position, Kean was also interested in military affairs, and this interest is reflected throughout his diary. As a result, Kean's observations on civil and military events make this diary more significant historically than that of Emma Le Conte.

Kean's comments on the military leaders of the Confederacy were often caustic. He had little regard for Braxton Bragg and, at first, equally little regard for Joseph E. Johnston (an opinion he was to change, however, after 1864). Lee, Kean believed, blundered at Gettysburg; but for Stonewall Jackson he had only the highest praise and regarded Jackson's death as a grave loss. He was no less restrained in his comments on some of the civilian members of the government. Jefferson Davis, in Kean's

w, was much too enmeshed in administrative detail and he referred to e-President Alexander H. Stephens as one of the "pestilent dema- gues." His comments on some of the members of the Confederate inet, such as Judah P. Benjamin and Christopher G. Memminger, were ally unflattering.

Kean's opinion of these men, and others, whether expressed in praise or lain will undoubtedly be challenged. What is of greater consequence, vever, in this diary is his analysis of the causes of the decline and fall of Confederacy. Although Kean was thoroughly loyal to the South he ld not blind himself to factors which contributed to its defeat. Among se, as he saw them, were deterioration in civilian morale, the inade- cies of Confederate finance, the lack of supplies and equipment, and a ective transportation system. Encompassing, as it does, events from tember 15, 1861, the date of the first entry, to October 23, 1865 (with emorandum which Kean appended in December of 1865), this is an portant Civil War diary. The introduction and competent editing by fessor Edward Younger of the University of Virginia merit praise.

erican Industry and the European Immigrant, 1865–1885. By CHAR- OTTE ERICKSON. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press Studies in Economic History], 1957. x + 269 pages, notes, appendices, ndex. $4.75.)

Reviewed by VINCENT P. CAROSSO, *Associate Professor of History, New York University.*

The principal purpose of this study is twofold: to examine the role of erican industry in recruiting European workers after 1864, when ngress legalized alien labor contracts; and to analyze the efforts of anized labor in bringing about their restriction in 1885, when the an Act forbade, with a few exceptions, the importation of contract or.

Miss Erickson begins by examining the various emigrant organizations blished to attract needed European skilled industrial workers. At first, ain manufacturing interests in the United States sympathized with objectives and participated in the work of a number of these newly ated societies. But because of the difficulties and uncertainties involved dministering the importation of contract labor, the system of recruit- skilled craftsmen abroad never proved satisfactory or dependable. a result, American employers soon lost what little interest they origi- y had exhibited in the idea. The major effort in recruiting and dis- uting foreign labor was left largely to steamship companies, private grant societies, and individual effort. Since comparable difficulties e encountered in securing unskilled workers, "contract labor was in America . . . after the Civil War. . . ." The immigrant labor and

strikebreakers that industry did employ were not recruited abroad but from "convenient pools" along the Atlantic coast.

The initiative to prohibit the importation of contract labor originated among the window-glass workers. Since theirs was a highly skilled trade, their only source of competition came from European contract labor. To protect itself, the Window Glass Workers Union attempted to regulate the wages and the movement of its members at home and abroad. Meanwhile, in the United States, the Union agitated for Federal legislation prohibiting alien contract labor.

When Congressman Martin Foran introduced a bill to this effect in the House of Representatives, he argued his case largely with evidence brought to his attention by the window-glass industry. Though the law was "urged" in general terms, it was largely the Window Glass Workers Union which lobbied for it, for only they and a few other highly skilled groups had "objective reasons to oppose the importation of contract labor" (p. 150). Miss Erickson interprets the "quiescence of industry" over the passage of the Act of 1885 as further evidence "that industry was not deeply involved in importing European labor and was certainly not importing unskilled workers on contract in any numbers, if at all" (p. 159).

Though all of the conclusions reached in this excellent study are not entirely new, there is no other work that presents such a substantive, careful, and interestingly written account of the issue. Based upon extensive research in American and European sources, this monograph will prove indispensable to anyone interested in the subject. Five statistical appendices add materially to its usefulness.

They All Chose America. By Albert Q. Maisel. (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957. 280 pages, $3.75.)

Reviewed by Stephen P. Mizwa, *President, The Kosciuszko Foundation, New York City.*

There are two main interpretations of the American people as a nation: as a "melting pot," a traditional view held by Mr. Maisel, or as a mosaic of cultural patterns. Mr. Maisel, a second-generation American, states that our country is made up of "an amazingly homogeneous and united people derived from the most diverse of origins." Of diverse origins, yes, and united in almost all national objectives, but our nation is heterogeneous rather than homogeneous in make-up. It is like a huge canvas in which the total picture is clear when viewed from a distance, but at close range distinctive segments and little patterns are visible as part of the whole unit.

They All Chose America is a simple yet inspiring book, aiming to make all Americans proud of their heritage—or at least not ashamed if per-

nce one's ancestors did not arrive on the *Mayflower*. The book con-
s of fifteen chapters, each one devoted to same particular nationality,
of which first appeared in condensed form in the *Reader's Digest*
hin the past two years.
A leitmotif runs throughout the entire book, attempting to dispel a
eral misconception about the difference between early and later
grations: that the early immigrants were allegedly impelled by ideo-
ical motives and were the harbingers of culture, whereas those who
ne to America in the four decades prior to 1924 were of a lower class—
erate masses seeking economic betterment. The author points out,
ner convincingly, that not all our early settlers, among whom were
ny illiterates, were motivated by a search for freedom; that economic
tives were in part responsible for all immigration waves; and, finally,
t the late 19th-century immigrants made many valuable contributions
American progress and to the American way of life since they, too,
ught their cultural baggage to the New World.

nuel Gompers—American Statesman. By FLORENCE CALVERT THORNE.
New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. xi + 175 pages, biblio. $3.75.)

Reviewed by JAMES O. MORRIS, *Assistant Professor, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University.*

lorence Calvert Thorne first met Samuel Gompers in the summer of
o. She was at that time a student at the University of Chicago and was
ting a term paper on a labor subject. As Miss Thorne tells the story,
first sought an audience with George W. Perkins, president of the
armakers International Union, in order to get some information for
thesis. "But Mr. Perkins had to do his editorials for his cigarmakers'
nthly journal," she relates, "and met my obvious disappointment with
news: 'Sam is in town. You need to talk to him anyhow.'" She
mptly called Gompers at his hotel and was invited by him, in "a voice
h the volume of a pipe organ," to breakfast the following morning.
riving in advance of the time appointed," she continues, "I watched
cago labor men as they moved about the lobby. . . . Finally, the door
he elevator opened on a short, squat figure in a buttoned Prince Albert
t. His short legs moved with extreme dignity, and with a courtly
ure he invited me into the dining room." Thus, began the relationship
ween Miss Thorne and Gompers which lasted until the latter's death
924. Miss Thorne served as Gompers' confidential assistant.
Contrary to what one might expect, this little book is neither an "in-
ite glimpse" nor a "scholarly" study of the long-time AFL president.
ntially, it is a selection of quotations from the readily available writ-
s and speeches of Samuel Gompers. As Miss Thorne explains, these
tations "bring the reader into direct contact with Mr. Gompers' mind

and personality with the minimum intervention of interpretation by the author." An introductory chapter, entitled "Who was Samuel Gompers?" is followed by twenty-two chapters which reveal Gompers' attitude toward such matters as voluntarism, strikes, nonpartisan political action, private property, and government. A short concluding chapter, "A Leader of Men," provides an insight into an understanding of Gompers' character.

Miss Thorne assigns to Gompers a role of signal importance in the development of the American labor movement. As she says, Gompers' work as a "constructive, conservative leader of millions of Americans is his enduring contribution to this country and the world period in which he lived, which places him high among American statesmen."

The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue. By NINA FLETCHER LITTLE. (Williamsburg, Va.: Published by Colonial Williamsburg; distributed by Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1957. xvi + 402 pages, 165 col. illus., biblio., index. $17.50.)

Reviewed by CAROLYN SCOON.

In the early 1930s, the discerning eye of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was caught by American folk art and she began acquiring pieces in—at this period—a neglected field of American art. With the help of Edith Gregor Halpert and Holgar Cahill, pioneers in this field, she gradually built up the present collection of paintings in oil, watercolor and pastel, needlework and painted textiles, paintings on glass, fracturs and calligraphic drawings, and sculpture in wood and metal.

In 1935 Mrs. Rockefeller gave the major portion of this collection to Colonial Williamsburg where it was displayed as the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection in the Ludwell-Paradise House. Mrs. Halpert arranged this exhibition and prepared the first catalogue of the collection.

However, the collection, consisting mainly of 19th-century pieces from different parts of the country, had no real connection with the Williamsburg Restoration. Recognizing this, Mr. Rockefeller built a special home for it outside of the Restoration area but still close enough to enable those visiting Williamsburg to enjoy it. This new permanent installation of more than 400 items opened to the public early this year and the present de luxe volume was published as a descriptive catalogue of the collection.

The catalogue was prepared by Nina Fletcher Little, well-known collector, author, lecturer and authority in American folk art. She has furnished scholarly though brief introductions to the field in general and to the specific divisions. Each item is carefully described and documented in as much detail as possible. Biographical information on portrait and land-

e artists is given when it is known and Mrs. Little is herself respon- for discovering much of this material. The names of craftsmen who ioned the needlework and the carvings have long since disappeared anonymity so the data on such material is necessarily much briefer. inclusion of references for many of the entries and a good bibliog- ıy make the catalogue a good reference work. Mrs. Little does not mpt any critical comment but she makes the point that a study of this of the people" gives a better insight into the manners and customs of period.

he 165 color plates vary considerably in technical excellence, the trations of the sculptured items being much superior to those of other gories. The reproductions of the paintings and drawings seem to lack th and do not reflect the luminous quality of paint. However, color es certainly represent more effectively the realism and charm of the inals than black and white reproductions. Indeed, they place this ıme in the category of gift books which may be enjoyed for their stic merit as well as studied for their historical value.

Dutchess Forever! The Story of an American County. By Henry Noble MacCracken. (New York: Hastings House, 1956. viii + 503 ages, biblio., index. $4.95.)

Reviewed by Richard J. Koke.

ying between the hills of western Connecticut and the great river ch bears the name of Henry Hudson, bordered on the south by the hlands of the Hudson and on the north by Columbia County, lies a pting land of green verdure, fertile farms, rolling hills, scenic beauty, quiet contentment—the beautiful New York county of Dutchess. Its rful human history has been notable, and for many years the Dutchess ınty Historical Society has been preëminent in the publication of a inctive series of *Year Books* in which were featured many significant cles on Dutchess history from the pens of local historians.

ı *Old Dutchess Forever*, written by Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, a zen of Dutchess, President Emeritus of Vassar College, and a Vice- sident of the county's historical society, has come a scholarly volume ch narrates a stirring chronology of the growth of this historic nty. From the first time he set foot in Dutchess in 1910 Dr. Mac- cken fell in love with this lovely land, once the capital of Old York e, and *Old Dutchess Forever* reflects that love. Its pages start with its y Indian inhabitants; move throughout the era of purchase and settle- ıt and pioneer growth; narrate the rich history of turbulent Revolu- ıary times and national independence; and close, finally, in the year 2 when Dutchess became separate in administration from Putnam ınty.

It is not the traditional type of county history. It is scholarly, for it is based on sound research by a man who has delved deeply into published and unpublished sources in the county and elsewhere. It is a loyal tribute to a county rightfully proud of its heritage and its share in local and national events. It is written with a sparkling literary style. The author writes of the people who inhabit his pages with the intimate knowledge of a man long associated with them. Throughout the book one feels that he is listening to the absorbing tales of a friendly neighbor who is revealing the profundity of Dutchess history, leavened with little-known facts and amusing sidelights. It is like a fine savoring of rich Burgundy. Dr. MacCracken's great knowledge and love of his subject will fully reward all who enjoy good history and good literature.

The Gingerbread Age: A View of Victorian America. By John Maass. (New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1957. 212 pages, biblio., illus., index, $7.95.)

Reviewed by Betty J. Ezequelle.

The Gingerbread Age presents an interesting point of view regarding a period of architecture usually relegated to a dark corner of history but, in the author's opinion, deserving a better fate. Aided by numerous illustrations which include some excellent photographs by himself, Mr. Maass attempts, in the accompanying text, to encourage a greater appreciation of Victorian architecture, which left many contributions worthy of preservation. Henry Russell Hitchcock, in his *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (Yale University Press, 1954), states: "The critical attitude that ignores all work without conscious artistic pretention and the opposing one which sees in architecture only more or less accomplished solutions of engineering problems are both forms of intellectual snobbery." Before succumbing to either form of snobbery in our judgments of what we too often dismiss as mere "gingerbread" architecture, we should reopen our minds, with the help of Mr. Maass's appealing book, to the charm and values its creators and sponsors obviously found in it.

The Parish of St. Michael 1857–1957. [By Rev. Henry J. Browne.] (New York: The Church of St. Michael, 1957. 72 pages.)
Catholic Life Annual. 1958. Edited by Eugene P. Willging. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1957. 96 pages, illus. $2.95.)

Reviewed by Theresa A. Czajkowska.

The highlights of one hundred years of St. Michael's Church are ably compressed by Rev. Henry J. Browne into an interesting narrative. The author describes the beginning of the parish in 1857 in a predominantly

Irish community between 28th and 38th Streets, west from Sixth Avenue to the Hudson River, under the competent direction of the economist-priest, Rev. Arthur J. Donnelly. The story told by Father Browne outlines the growth and expansion of the parish, development of its schools, successive building, rebuilding, enlarging and moving of St. Michael's Church from 31st to 34th Street to make way for the Pennsylvania Railroad; it includes a great number of parish priests, financial details, accounts of circumstances, events, and ceremonies, which the author deftly fits against a background of simultaneous changes within the community, the City, and the Nation. The historian of St. Michael's parish is justifiably proud of its schools and its alumni, as well as of the people (priests, nuns, and parishioners) that have helped the parish to survive a century of change. It is to the author's credit that the personalities of these people emerge from under a mass of well-presented details, facts, and figures.

His sparkling literary style unhampered by such names, numbers, or typographical errors as those which crop up in his parish history, Father Browne has produced a splendid survey for the first volume of the *Catholic Life Annual* entitled "New York City, 1857: Gateway for the Catholic Immigrant." He describes the City as the newly-arrived Irish and Germans discovered it, and the facilities for their care and adjustment provided by Catholic institutions. Another article in the *Annual*, by Annabelle Melville, traces the contribution of Archbishop John Carroll and Mother Elizabeth Seton to the American educational system of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The *Annual* includes many other topics: the history of medieval illumination, suggestions for the observance of Christmas, appropriate Christmas stories and inspiring articles, as well as historical essays. Its variety, attractive format, and ample illustrations make it especially suitable for gift-giving.

Interpreting Our Heritage: Principles and Practices for Visitor Services in Parks, Museums, and Historic Places. By Freeman Tilden. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957. xvii + 110 pages, illus., index. $3.50.)

Reviewed by Richard J. Koke.

Today thousands of naturalists, historians, archaeologists, and specialists are engaged in an ever-expanding task of revealing something of the beauty and wonder and meaning of our national and state parks, our museums and historic places, to millions of Americans who visit them each year. At many of these places the visitor is exposed to a type of education—elective on his part—which in some respects is superior to that of the classroom—for here he encounters the Thing Itself, whether it be a work of nature or the act or work of man.

The process of educational dissemination which has been undertaken by the custodians of our natural and historic treasures is called interpretation. Its chief aim is not instruction, but provocation, and its purpose is to open up to the visitor the deeper meaning of a park, a museum, or a historic place by means of guided tours, exhibits, signs and labels, and other devices. By such methods, often sugar-coated to appeal to popular taste but backed by thorough research and scholarship, the visitor is taken behind what he perceives in front of him into the fuller significance of the area. *Interpreting Our Heritage* is a book which outlines the basic principles of good interpretation and the best practices for visitor services, in a field where goals of interpretation continually expand and new challenges are presented on how best to present the essence of a preserved area to multitudes of visitors. In this field the National Park Service is performing a great task for the heritage which is being preserved for the benefit of every American. For many, Mr. Tilden's book will be a reaffirmation of their work, and for others a provocative study to which one may turn for guidance and stimulation.

Index to the Writings on American History 1902–1940. [Compiled by David Maydole Matteson; completed by Esther Z. Bailey and Rose Engleman.] (Washington, D. C.: American Historical Association, [1956]. vii + 1115 pages. $10.00 to institutions and non-members of the Association; $5.00 to members.)

The first two of the annual bibliographies of books and articles on American history covered publications of the years 1902 and 1903. None appeared for 1904 and 1905. Then, beginning with the volume for 1906 (published 1908) and carrying through that for 1939–40 (published 1949), Grace Gardner Griffin effectively shouldered the burden of continuous editorship of 33 volumes—a monumental achievement in American historical bibliography.

Each of these annual volumes of *Writings on American History* contains its own index of authors and subjects. Until now, in order to find all the listed material on his subject, the student therefore had to consult 35 separate indexes—and these not all constructed on the same pattern or consistently adequate. The present volume now consolidates these yearly indexes into one cumulative index and attempts to repair the omissions and inconsistencies. Despite the fact that this repair work has not always been adequately performed (many potentially useful index-headings, for instance, having been ignored—even some to which the user is directed by *see* or *see also* references), nevertheless the labor-saving convenience of this noble index will be appreciated by every scholar who has occasion to use the multi-volumed *Writings on American History*.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

MEMBERS, on their election, pay ten dollars as dues, and thereafter on the first day of January each year a like amount, or a life-membership fee of one ıred dollars in lieu of all other dues and fees. The contribution of one thousand ırs to the funds of the Society entitles the donor to be elected a Fellow for life. contribution of five thousand dollars entitles the donor to be elected a Patron ıe Society in perpetuity.

embers have the privilege of attending and of inviting guests to all the lectures other functions of the Society, and they will receive *The New-York Historical ety Quarterly* and its *Annual Report.*

pplication for membership may be submitted to: Secretary, The New-York orical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York 24, New York.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

ıerewith present my application for membership in the Society:

ıe .....

ress .....

.....

ness or profession.....

nclosed is my check to be used in payment of membership fee as indicated below, n I am elected:

..... Annual $10 ..... Fellow $1000

..... Life $100 ..... Patron $5000

have the pleasure of referring to the following members of the Society with om I am acquainted:

.....

.....

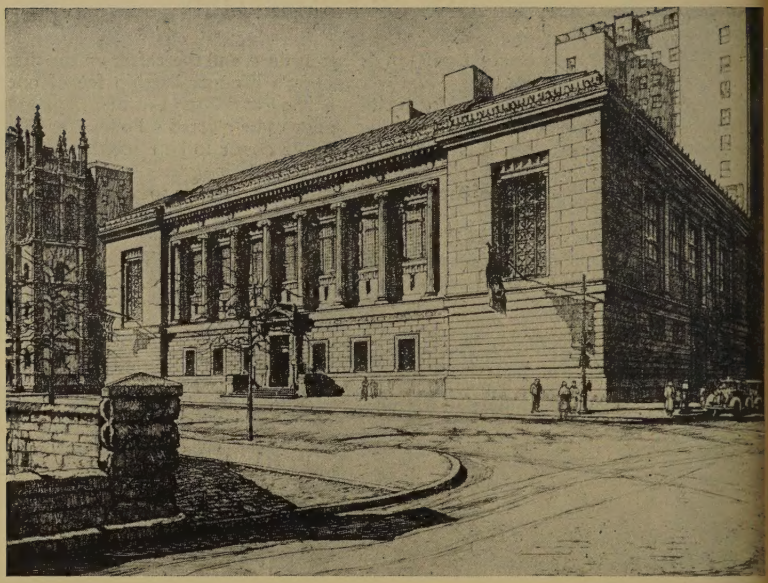
.....

f you wish to state any special historical interests that you may have, please do so.]

e .....

FORM OF BEQUEST

give and bequeath to "The New-York Historical Society," *founded in the r 1804 and incorporated in the year 1809, the sum of* ..... *Dollars.*



THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CENTRAL PARK WEST & 77TH STREET

FOUNDED 1804

HOURS

THE LIBRARY

Open daily except Sundays: 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.
Holidays: 1 to 5 P.M.

THE ART GALLERIES AND MUSEUM

Open free to the public daily except Mondays,
from 1 to 5 P.M.
Saturdays: 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.

The building is closed on New Year's Day, Memorial Day, July 4th, Thanksgiving, and Christmas, and during the month of August.

BOOKS FOR SALE BY

The New-York Historical Society

(10% DISCOUNT TO MEMBERS AND LIBRARIANS ON ORDERS OF $5.00 OR MORE)

liam Smith, *The History of the Late Province of New-York, from Its scovery to the Appointment of Governor Colden, in 1762* (1830). 2 vols. talling 780 pp., $15.00.

mas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War, and the ading Events in the Other Colonies at That Period* (1879). 2 vols. total- ig 1555 pp., illus., index, $15.00.

othy C. Barck, ed., *Letters from John Pintard to His Daughter, Eliza Noel ntard Davidson, 1816-1833* (1904-41). 4 vols. totalling 1386 pp., illus., dex, $12.00.

ald A. Shelley, *Catalogue of American Portraits in The New-York istorical Society* (1941). viii+374 pp., 430 illus., indexes, $1.50.

liam Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt, 1734-1805: A Study of His Work* (1942). +103 pp., 43 plates, index, $5.00.

old E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis, American Painter, 1780-1840, With Checklist of His Works* (1949). xx+476 pp., 105 illus., index, $10.00.

er & Bolton, *History Written with Pick and Shovel: Military Buttons, elt-Plates, Badges, and Other Relics Excavated from Colonial, Revolu- onary, and War of 1812 Camp Sites by the Field Exploration Committee The New-York Historical Society* (1950). xiv+320 pp., 218 illus., index, .50.

y Bartlett Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 26-1860* (1943). 2 vols. totalling 680 pp., index, $6.00.

y Bartlett Cowdrey, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art- nion 1816-1852*, with a history of the Academy by Theodore Sizer, of e Art-Union by Charles E. Baker, and a Foreword by James Thomas exner (1953). I: *Introduction*, xiv+311 pp., illus.; II: *Exhibition Record*, 4 pp., frontis., index; 2 vols., $7.50.

Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726-1776* 938). xviii+450 pp., index, $3.00.

e, *1777-1799* (1954). xix+484 pp., illus., index, $4.00.

V.G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of The ew-York Historical Society 1804-1954* (1954). xix+547 pp., 180 illus., dex, $6.00.

odore Bolton and Irwin F. Cortelyou, *Ezra Ames of Albany: Portrait inter, Craftsman, Royal Arch Mason, Banker, 1768-1836; And a Cata- gue of His Works* (1955). xx+398 pp., 120 illus., index, $4.95.

ip L. White, *The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce 47-1877* with an Introduction by Dr. Fenwick Beekman (1956). xxxi+ 5 pp., 57 illus., index, $10.00.

ip L. White, ed., *The Beekman Mercantile Papers 1746-1799* (1956). 1485 p. in three vols., $25.00.

rge C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's ictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860* (1957). xxvii + 759 pp., $15.00.